

The Antiquaries Journal

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Vol. XXIII

July–October 1943

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Anniversary Address

By A. W. CLAPHAM, C.B.E., F.B.A., President

[Delivered 15th April 1943]

FOR the fourth time the Society's Anniversary Meeting takes place under the shadow of war, and once again our activities are confined and controlled by the imperious demands of our present case. Since our last Anniversary, however, the prospect has markedly lightened and we begin to see, although as in a glass, darkly, the term of our tribulation. Even in our darkest hour we have never ceased to anticipate a brighter future, though it became more and more apparent that our present was shadowed by perhaps the darkest menace that has ever threatened the human race. Now, however, that the binding of the Teutonic beast, and all who bear his mark, is more obviously in view, we may well be encouraged to look more confidently ahead and to make preparations to shoulder those responsibilities which will inevitably fall upon us in the future.

The steady revival of interest in those studies which most immediately concern us has been illustrated in the past session by the greatly increased attendances at our meetings and by the active concern which has been displayed in the post-war problems of the direction and control of excavation and preservation. Our predominating interests are in the past, but the future has now, as never before, a claim upon us which, I feel sure, we shall neither neglect nor postpone. In Leigh Hunt's *The Town* are some words on our Society which appear to me highly appropriate in the present circumstances. He says: 'There is no Society more likely to increase with age and outgrow half-witted objection. The growth of time adds daily to its stock, and as reflecting men become interested in behalf of ages to come, they naturally turn, with double sympathy towards the periods which have gone bye.' He concludes with a touch of sentiment appropriate to the Romantic period, in wishing to see 'the Society in a venerable building of its own, raised in some quiet spot with trees around it and with painted windows reflecting light through old heraldry'. A pleasant enough fancy, recalling the visionary London of *News from Nowhere* and coloured by recollections from the *Eve of St. Agnes*.

Our Society, since the last Anniversary, has had placed before it

a number of papers of considerable variety and interest. In a paper read last May Dr. Bersu described the results of the excavations on the remarkable dark-age site at Ballakeggan in the Isle of Man. These excavations have been extended to cognate sites in the present year and will, we hope, add greatly to our knowledge of the domestic economy of the dark ages in an island whose intermediate position between England and Ireland renders it of peculiar importance. The later papers read to us include that by Professor Garrod on 'The Cave Paintings of Lascoux' in the Dordogne, a paper on 'Gallo-Romano Archaeology' by Commander Schaeffer, and one on 'Two Prehistoric Mortars' by Mr. Lacaille. The two latest papers, that by Mr. Charles Mitchell on 'The Survival of History in English Eighteenth-century Painting' and that by Dr. Paecht on 'The Historical and Artistic Merits of the Bodleian *Notitia Dignitatum*', both dealt with aspects of art which are but seldom brought to our notice, but are not the less germane to our study of the past and to the transmitted forms of pictorial representation; in regard to Dr. Paecht's paper, the long survival of low Roman figured and decorative forms in a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript presented us with an artistic phenomenon which is as unusual as it is intriguing, and I hope that a complete record of the pictorial enrichments of this manuscript will find a place in our publications.

You have had put before you to-day the formal obituary of the Society since the last Anniversary Meeting. Amongst those who have gone from us I should like to dwell for a moment on three names only. Amongst our honorary Fellows we have lost Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, who apart from all the work he did in the collection and preservation of manuscripts in America, displayed a lifelong friendship for this country and by a most generous action enabled us to acquire for the nation those great monuments of medieval art—the Luttrell Psalter and the Bedford Book of Hours. In the death of Professor Collingwood we deplore the loss of one who did so much to forward the study of Roman antiquities in this country, and whose philosophical pronouncements were distinguished by the unusual clarity and acumen of his mind. The Society has further lost an old and very loyal Fellow in the person of Colonel Karslake, who had long served on its Council and had much to do with the Roman town of Silchester.

Apart from the immediate concerns of our Society, the past year has been marked by one significant event, the acquisition by the National Trust of the site and much of the surroundings of the supremely important megalithic monument of Avebury. I need not recall to you the prolonged and very fruitful activities of our Fellow Mr. Alexander Keiller on this site, and it must be the subject of the highest satisfaction that now practically the whole of Avebury will be owned by a national society and controlled by them and the Ministry of Works.

I may perhaps also refer to the quite admirable photographic exhibition staged at the London Museum by the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London. It represents in graphic and very telling form the subjects, methods, and results of excavation and field-archaeology in this country and will, I hope, do much to broadcast the interest and appeal alike of modern archaeological methods and their results. The exhibition was initiated by the Deputy-Director, Miss Kathleen Kenyon, and arranged and staged by Miss Margot Eates.

In matters directly connected with the war the past year has been marked by the initiation and continuance of the massed bombing-raids of the Royal Air Force, begun last summer, on German cities, in which Cologne, Lübeck, Stuttgart, Mainz, Nuremberg, Munich, and many others have suffered so severely. We may perhaps, ourselves, regret the blasting of the ancient city of Lübeck, and it was no surprise to us that reprisals, on the part of comparatively insignificant numbers of the Luftwaffe, were attempted. These reprisals, as we all know, took the form of the bombing of places of historic interest, which the press and the public have denominated Baedeker raids. Fortunately, owing to the partial crippling of the German Air Force in the west, the will to destroy far exceeded the available means of destruction and, though we have to deplore the loss of or damage to many important buildings, the net result is far less serious than it might well have been. These raids were directed against such towns as Exeter, Bath, Canterbury, York, Norwich, Chichester, and Yarmouth, and it will perhaps not be inopportune to endeavour to assess the architectural and archaeological damage done in each place.

To start with the west country, Exeter suffered very severely from these raids and here alone was the cathedral seriously damaged; St. James's chapel and part of the south aisle of the choir were badly wrecked; the fourteenth-century hall of the Vicars Choral was practically destroyed. In addition to this about half the old parish churches were damaged or destroyed, and these included St. John, St. Lawrence, St. Sidwell, St. Mary Arches, and St. Stephen. Two fine Tudor buildings—Chevalier House and Bamfield Hall—were burnt, and eighteenth-century and later houses of distinction in Bedford Circus, Southernhay, and elsewhere were destroyed. The modern City Library received a direct and heavy hit, destroying a large amount of printed and manuscript material.

At Bath the destruction involved mainly eighteenth-century buildings. The abbey suffered only from blast, but the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene was partly demolished and the Abbey House was practically destroyed. Of the eighteenth-century buildings the Assembly Rooms of 1769-71 were completely burnt out. Substantial portions of the Royal Crescent, The Circus, Somerset Place, Norfolk Crescent, and Lansdown Place were burnt out or destroyed. St. James's church was reduced to a shell, Hope House was badly damaged, Doric House

received a direct hit, and the west wing of Prior Park was seriously damaged. It can only be with a very acute and personal regret that we regard the damage and destruction of so many buildings intimately connected with the literary and social history of the eighteenth century. May we hope that reproduction will eventually restore most of these buildings to the semblance, at least, of their former dignity and grace.

At Canterbury the largely modern building of the Cathedral Library, on the east side of the cloister, received a direct hit, but some 75 per cent. of the books contained therein have been salved. Other buildings also in the cathedral precinct have been damaged, including the isolated fourteenth-century lodging known as Meist Omers. The buildings of St. Augustine's Abbey or College suffered badly from blast, but no building there actually collapsed. St. George's church, however, was completely burnt out and about fifteen medieval and later houses in the town were destroyed or very seriously damaged and nine others to a less extent.

At York the damage within the walls was due mainly to incendiaries rather than high explosives. It included, however, the complete burning of the fifteenth-century Guildhall with its remarkable oak columns, and in the equally complete destruction, within its walls, of the fine fifteenth-century church of St. Martin, Coney Street, with the loss of the ancient glass in its clerestory windows. A small number of houses, also within the walls, were burnt or damaged, but none of them were of major interest.

Norwich has suffered many raids, but only within the last year have they been materially destructive to ancient buildings. At the cathedral part of the outer roofs of the transepts was burnt, but the vaulting below confined the flames to the timber-work. The churches of St. Benedict, St. Julian, St. Michael at Thorn, St. Paul, and St. Bartholomew Heigham have been severely damaged or burnt out, and the churches of St. Mary Coslany, St. Martin at Oak, and St. Margaret have been less seriously injured; elsewhere the whole of the glass at St. Stephen, Rampant Horse Street, has been blown out. In addition to this the sixteenth-century Dolphin Inn or Bishop Hall's Palace and the Grammar School have been burnt out, and damage was done to the Rosemary Tavern, Coslany and houses in Flower Pot Yard, St. Giles Street, and Rampant Horse Street.

The destruction at Chichester was much less severe and was mainly due to blast. This affected the cathedral, the remarkable St. Mary's Hospital, the churches of St. Andrew, St. Peter the Great, St. Olave, and the Prebendal School. The roof of St. Mary's Hospital was stripped of its tiles.

At Yarmouth a deliberate and twice-repeated attack with incendiaries was made, on the same night, upon St. Nicholas church, which has left it a calcined and roofless ruin. It has, however, revealed

certain architectural features, which add considerably to our knowledge of one of the largest parish churches in the country. In the same town the Toll House was partly destroyed and large tracts of the Rows have been devastated, leaving the half-ruined remains of the Greyfriars standing on the edge of the destruction; damage has also been done to several houses fronting the South Quay.

Damage of a minor nature has also occurred in numerous other towns, of which Reading, Lewes, and Midhurst may be mentioned.

Whatever may be the individual opinion as to the present position of the war; whether it be as advanced as some of us hope or as indecisive as others fear, there can yet be no impropriety in considering for a few moments some of the problems which will confront us as antiquaries when we are able again to turn our attention to the matters which form at least one of our major interests. The immediately post-war period, after our final success is consummated, is bound, as we all know, to be one of radical change and extensive reorganization. The devastation of the raids will compel the most important construction-schemes in our history, and the rehabilitation of agriculture as one of the mainstays of our national structure will carry with it the reconstruction of much of our rural life. We shall furthermore be faced with many problems of preservation which we have never before encountered or even envisaged. In the latter part of the last century and the early years of the present a comparatively small portion of the public funds was devoted to the archaeology and antiquities of this country, and it is indeed long since the ships and personnel of the Royal Navy were employed on excavations such as those at Budrum and Miletus. England was then wealthy and prosperous, and the excavation and repair of our national antiquities was left, almost entirely, to the private purses of those who were directly interested in such matters. The methods of those days, furthermore, were far less exacting in both scholarship and finance, and neither the excavation nor the repair of that age would commend themselves to us at the present day. The increasing lack of individual means since the last war has thrown this responsibility, at any rate in the matter of repair, more and more upon the national exchequer, and the outcome of the second great war will make this demand not only more insistent, but may render any other solution largely impracticable. In the State control of national monuments this country has not, in the past, been a pioneer, and it may well be that our late adoption of the system has preserved us from much of the ill-advised restoration which has blemished and disfigured the national monuments of many another country. The policy of non-interference, it must also be admitted, was closely in accord with national sentiment, which viewed with suspicion and distrust any shadow of interference, however beneficial, with individual rights.

The theory and practice of the preservation of ancient sites and

historic buildings is of comparatively modern growth; only now and then at long distant intervals in the past do we discern any active effort by any state to preserve the memorials of the past, unless they possessed some religious significance; even then it is the relic which counts and not the structure which enshrines it. This is notoriously true throughout the middle ages, and it was only the legend of its divine consecration which preserved the timber church of Glastonbury till it was burnt late in the twelfth century. Even in this dark age, however, the Republic of Venice transported to that city sculpture from the fallen city of Constantinople and a statue, perhaps of Theodosius the Great, found its way, by shipwreck, to the town of Barletta. The statue of Marcus Aurelius was preserved at Rome, but this was because it was supposed to represent the Emperor Constantine. The Renaissance brought a definite modification of the earlier views, but the enthusiasm for the literature and art of classical antiquity chose rather to devote itself to manuscripts and sculpture than to structural remains. In this the Renaissance but recalled the Roman conquerors of Greece and the Hellenistic East or Constantine the Great at Constantinople, in the heavy tribute of works of art that they levied on the Greek cities. But two instances in antiquity, so far as I am aware, are on record of a serious attempt on the part of the head of the State to preserve by legislation actual historic buildings from destruction; the Emperor Majorian, at the lowest ebb of the Western Empire, decreed the severest penalties, fines, and mutilation (the cutting off of hands, to be exact), on those who should authorize or commit the destruction of the ancient public buildings of Rome, and his example was followed by Theodoric the Ostrogoth. The revival of Classical studies seems to have led, very gradually throughout Europe, to a revived interest in antiquities in general. Mary Queen of Scots herself directed the local authorities to preserve the remains, then uncovered, of a Roman bath at Inveresk near Prestonpans, and Gustavus Adolphus, if not Gustavus Vasa, instituted something in the nature of a study of the national antiquities of Sweden. Lady Anne Clifford, too, indulged in the restoration, on the old lines, long obsolete, of several of her castles and houses ruined or damaged in the Civil War. But it was not until the last century that in any European country definite legal steps on modern lines were taken for the actual preservation of ancient monuments.

I may perhaps be permitted to remind you that the State machinery for dealing with active archaeology as it relates to this country (apart from museums, records, and kindred matters) are the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Ministry of Works and Planning, the Royal Commissions on Ancient Monuments, and the Archaeological Department of the Ordnance Survey. The first of these, the Ancient Monuments Branch, functions under and implements the powers conferred by the Ancient Monuments Acts of 1913 and 1931. Many

important sites and buildings are already owned by or are under the guardianship of the State, and it is to be hoped that in the future many more will be added to the number. Outside their immediate control, the department has scheduled a far greater number of sites and buildings, all over the country, which means that they may not be materially altered or interfered with without the knowledge of the department; furthermore, by the Act of 1931 the department is empowered to make excavations on threatened sites not under their control or guardianship. The effect of this is that the greater majority of notable sites and important uninhabited buildings in the country are under a supervision which should be effective to prevent their damage by either ignorance or misdirected zeal. Since the war the department has, I believe, made the most effective use of its opportunities, and the sites which have been interfered with for military reasons, without adequate supervision and full record, are exceedingly few and relatively insignificant. This result is one upon which the department itself and the archaeological world in general may well congratulate themselves. In another branch of their activities, the system of demolition-control, through their own staff, the organization of panel-architects and the co-operation of local authorities, has preserved for us the remains of many buildings of merit which might otherwise have suffered serious further decay or entire demolition.

The Ancient Monuments Commissions are and always have been purely recording bodies; their duties consist of making a survey, both structural and photographic, of antiquities, county by county, and their publication in book form. For the last two years or so they have been engaged, in conjunction with the National Buildings Record, in the photographic survey of the towns and villages of the country which have been or may well be in the future the subject of hostile air-raids.

The Archaeological Department of the Ordnance Survey, now of necessity in suspension, has done a great amount of work in the past which it is unnecessary to emphasize in the present company. It had furthermore begun and carried to some distance the photographing of manuscript surveys, maps, and plans in public and private possession, thus forming the nucleus of a cartographical collection of the utmost importance. Some of this has, I regret to say, been destroyed, but fortunately the greater part of the collection was deposited in duplicate in a place where it still survives. The department had, furthermore, an extensive collection of air-photography, which depends so largely, in value, upon the archaeological and technical expertness of the eye and hand which produces it. In this connexion I need only emphasize the obvious point that both these collections would be enormously increased in value to students at large if they were housed, after the war, in some central repository, more accessible than Southampton could ever be. The direct connexion of this department with air-photography as a whole leads one to stress the

desirability of an air-survey of the country in general, which would form so valuable an addition to archaeological knowledge and would provide a far more graphic palimpsest of English history than even the best of maps.

Such then are the departments at present in existence for the preservation and record of ancient monuments, but whatever arguments may have been advanced in the past as to the adequacy of such a provision, it is evident that we shall be confronted, in the near future, with a situation which will demand more extended treatment and presumably wider powers. Action will have to be taken sooner or later on a scale which will be beyond the financial resources of any society or private individual, and not only will it concern buildings but the under-surface antiquities which are the more immediate concern of archaeology. The demolition of large areas of ancient cities and towns such as London, Exeter, Canterbury, and Southampton will necessitate the constant watch by trained and competent archaeologists of the rebuilding operations in these districts and the following up by excavation of such discoveries as come to light. In addition to this, post-war conditions will, I think, inevitably lead sooner or later to the abandonment of very many historic houses throughout the country owing to the inability of their owners to maintain them and with the consequent alternative that they will be either demolished or taken over by some local or national authority. The present war should, I think, have provided a sufficient warning to those who advocate the entire abandonment of inherited tradition and the seeking after new gods. The new gods have wrought enough havoc in the world to alarm even the most persistent modernist, and we should, I am sure, do all we can to preserve for the future everything worthy which remains of our inheritance.

Considerations such as I have endeavoured to indicate were, I have no doubt, in the minds of certain officers and members of the only archaeological congress (that of the Hellenic and Roman Societies at Oxford last summer) which has met in this country since the war. They considered the situation as they envisaged it and in due course submitted a memorandum on the matter to the Council of our Society, with a view to the formulation of some scheme to deal with the problem when it matures and to ensure that informed archaeological opinion shall have a full opportunity of making itself heard when any decision comes to be taken. On the receipt of their memorandum the Council appointed a small committee to consider further the proposals and to formulate them in a manner which would render their discussion more practicable and at the same time bring the facts of the case more immediately to the notice of our Council. This committee acted with the most commendable dispatch, and in little more than a month their report was in the hands of the Council at their February meeting. A special meeting of the Council was held on

8th March, when it was decided that the framing of a policy of such importance for the future could not and should not be the sole responsibility of this Society, and that it must represent the considered views of archaeologists as a whole. With this in view the Council decided to invite all the archaeological societies directly concerned in the matter to nominate representatives to confer, in the near future, with the Council of our Society on the whole subject with a view to devising such steps as may be deemed necessary to ensure that archaeological opinion shall have its right and proper voice in all the many decisions which must one day be taken. I think it was the opinion of our Council that however undesirable, from some points of view, it may be to take definite action at the present time, owing to the inevitable absence of so many of those whose opinions and council we can so ill spare, yet it was eminently desirable that steps should be taken at once to set up the necessary framework and machinery without which our views as archaeologists might fail to find adequate expression. I think, myself, that given this machinery it will be of the greatest assistance as a vehicle by which all archaeological opinion in the immediately post-war period can be brought to the notice of the authorities concerned and that it will at least ensure that its voice is neither mute nor neglected.

Without trenching, in any way, on the discussions and decisions of this forthcoming conference, I may perhaps be permitted to bring two further points before you and to make some comments upon them.

It cannot, I think, be denied that the English, as a race, are not historically minded; their interests are centred very largely on the present and the future, and the past is, to the common mind, a somewhat arid tract which does not immediately concern or greatly interest them. Beyond the borders, in Scotland and Wales, Flodden and Bannockburn, Llewellyn and Owen Glendower are matters and persons of common knowledge and almost personal concern, and the long inherited instincts of relationship and descent lend a personal application to antiquity which is hardly at all represented among the masses in this country. The natural result of this English indifference is a certain apathy in regard to the visible illustrations of our history which suffers their passing away without protest and almost without regard. It is obvious that much of this indifference is due to a general neglect, in the past, to confront the childhood of the nation with the still visible and tangible evidence of its history. Something has been done, within recent years, to remedy this in the teaching of the primary and secondary schools, but this is neither universal nor, sometimes, well informed. The matter has, quite recently, been under discussion, and it may be that in the future archaeologists and antiquaries will have the opportunity of aiding this widening of the historical outlook, by some definite contribution towards the more graphic and intimate representation of the life and events of the past. It has been suggested,

for example, that each county or district should have its local and appropriate handbook to the geographical, archaeological, and structural background of our race, and that not only the museums of the towns but the countryside itself should provide a running commentary on the bare facts of social and economic history. Suggestion, particularly in youth, is obviously a potent force, and it may well be that such a presentation of history in one of its most attractive and intimate forms would create that historic sense which is now so largely lacking; or, at the least, it might engender a respect for antiquity which would prevent the wanton destruction of its survivals, which is but too common to-day.

Turning to post-war reconstruction in the towns, it is evident that a situation of the greatest magnitude and the gravest importance will confront us sooner or later after the war. It is apparent to all of us that large tracts within the old walls of the city of London are now derelict, and that its rebuilding will afford the greatest opportunity ever accorded to archaeologists for determining the early history and development of the capital. However long this rebuilding may take, it is obvious that the efficient supervision of operations extending over so large and important an area must become a problem of the greatest magnitude. To a lesser degree the same sort of supervision must be extended likewise to other early cities such as Exeter and Canterbury, and even when the towns damaged are no earlier than the middle ages, they will afford materials which should not on that account be neglected. All this will require careful planning in advance if we are to ensure that the necessary body of competent observers will be available at the right time and in the right place and that they will be suitably employed and adequately recompensed.

A further important point in this connexion will be, necessarily, the publication of the reports of these investigations. It is impossible, of course, at the moment, to estimate the length of time that these major reconstructions will occupy, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that the eventual publication of such researches will be beyond the means of the learned societies concerned with antiquity and that consequently the responsibility must fall upon the State. This, I think, is not unreasonable, when we consider that the State already finances the extensive and valuable calendars of State papers and national archives, the reports of the Historical Monuments Commissions, and other publications, not all of which are financially remunerative, and that the results of excavations unless published are largely knowledge lost.

We turn finally to the Society's Gold Medal for distinguished services to Archaeology. On this occasion the Council has awarded it to Professor Ellis Hovell Minns. It would be superfluous for me to offer any form of introduction of Dr. Minns to the present company. He is, in the second generation, a Fellow of this Society; he has served

on its Council and contributed to its proceedings. It would appear entirely opportune that the Gold Medal of the Society should, on this occasion, be conferred on one whose main studies have enlightened the history of a district which has been, so recently, the focus of our attention in the Russo-German war. It is furthermore due to Professor Minns that the whole subject of Scythian art and antiquities was first brought, in its entirety, to the notice of English readers. In his book on Scythians and Greeks in what is now southern Russia, from the Carpathians to the Volga, he has given us a remarkable survey of a subject which, until he wrote, was largely buried in the obscurity of the Russian language and the evidences scattered in Russian museums and private collections. This great animal style of the north, extending over some 100 degrees of longitude, has left its mark alike on the early cultures of the far east and the later cultures of north-western Europe. Its origins and even the age of its beginnings are alike obscure, and the term Scytho-Siberian sufficiently indicates the uncertainty of its racial affinities. The mass of material is, however, continuously increasing and we begin to discern in the conventional and impressionistic animal forms, instinct with vigour and movement, one of the basic elements of cultural art. For many years Professor Minns's work stood alone, at any rate in this language; it has since been supplemented and extended by Professor Rostovtzeff and others, and if Scythian art and antiquities now take their proper place in the cultural history of the world, very much of this is due to the scholar who first set the whole subject clearly before us and is still continuing to enlarge our knowledge in the same direction.

Dr. Minns's study of the Greek colonies of the Crimea, the Kuban, and the northern shores of the Black Sea must also form one of the bases of any further study of the subject, a subject which illustrates perhaps better than any other the vitality and tenacity of Hellenic and Hellenistic culture in remote and barbaric surroundings.

I will not touch on Professor Minns's many other activities; they are well known to most of you; and I will conclude by congratulating both himself and the Society on the addition of his name to the list of Gold Medallists.

Excavations at Chisbury Camp, Dorset, 1939

By MARGARET WHITLEY

EXCAVATIONS at Chisbury were begun in the summer of 1939, and a second season was planned for 1940. This was postponed owing to the outbreak of war, but the uncertainty which hangs over archaeology in the future makes immediate publication of an interim report desirable, although papers dealing with the skeletal material and kindred subjects must be postponed till after the close of hostilities. The work was a sequel to the excavation of Maiden Castle,¹ and was undertaken as part of a scheme for making cuttings in selected Dorset hill-forts with a view to ascertaining their cultural relationships. Poundbury, Dorchester,² was scheduled to be dug in the spring of 1939, and Chisbury, only three miles from Maiden Castle, was next upon the list.³

GENERAL ACCOUNT

Chisbury Camp is situated on a high knoll at the north end of Rimbury ridge, which is one of the smaller southern spurs of the Dorset downs. On the south it looks towards the coast, and commands an extensive panorama from the Chesil Bank to Whitenose, while immediately before it, only two miles distant, lies Weymouth Bay, sheltered by Portland Bill. The approaches to this anchorage are for the most part low-lying and have a clay subsoil, so one must suppose that they were thickly wooded in early times; but the presence of a Bronze Age barrow (excavated in 1939 by Mr. K. Selby) beside the main Dorchester-Weymouth road shows that communication through the area was possible even before the Roman period. Thus the inhabitants of Chisbury must have had access to the sea at places such as Lodmore, now an inland swamp, Bowleaze Cove, and Jordan Hill.

On the north side the main range of the downs stretches east and west and the great south Dorset ridgeway which traverses it is only a mile distant. Thus the traveller setting out from Chisbury could

¹ R. E. M. Wheeler (Soc. Ant. Research Committee Report, No. XII), *Maiden Castle, Dorset*.

² K. M. Richardson, *Antiq. Journ.* xx (1940), 429 ff.

³ A number of people have rendered valuable assistance at all stages of the operations. In particular, grateful thanks are due to Mr. George Kirk, who contributed much to the success of the field work; to Mr. V. F. M. Oliver, who surveyed the whole site single-handed; and to Col. Drew, Dr. Bersu, Miss Margot Eates, Mr. Dunning, and Mr. Hawkes, who helped in various ways. I am also indebted to Mr. Diment, the owner of the land, for permission to carry out the excavations, and to the Ministry of Works for allowing us to dig on a scheduled site. Finally, I have to thank Mr. John Waechter for his paper on the flints and Dr. Wheeler for much timely advice and for his kindness in giving me free access to the proofs of the final report on Maiden Castle.



a. Chisbury from the north



b. The rampart at the north end showing site C in its early stages. The causeway is underneath the dump

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journey up towards that prehistoric backbone of England, the southern downland system with its spreading ridgeways centred on Salisbury Plain. A glance at the map shows that Dorset is one of the principal places where this system debouches on to the sea, making a possible trade route to the Continent; although the remains of both Chisbury and Maiden Castle go to show that no appreciable use was made of it in Iron Age A times. Chisbury had, however, its own local road connecting it with the main thoroughfare towards the east,¹ and probably another track ran towards the ridgeway in a westerly direction by the fine group of barrows on Bincombe Hill. The causeway from the entrance would have enabled wheeled traffic or packhorse to descend in comparative comfort to take either of these routes.

The site was admirably chosen for defensive purposes. It is sundered from the main ridge of the downs by steep valleys, which would impede any attack, although to the north it is overlooked by Bincombe Hill about a mile distant. Stretching away to the south lies Rimbury Ridge, famous for its late Bronze Age cemetery,² and the camp therefore belongs to the promontory variety. As in other Iron Age A fortifications, the rampart is single. It follows the contour of the hill, and thus is roughly pear-shaped, enclosing an area of some 10 acres. As a general rule it stands only about a foot above the present level of the quarry ditch and so appears to be a terrace breaking a steep slope rather than a free-standing bank. But, at the north end, the tip of the pear, it stands as much as 5 ft. above the quarry ditch, and a raised causeway runs across the latter. There is another similar causeway on the east side, but no heightening of the rampart. The north end was indeed one of the most important parts of the camp from the point of view of defence, for here the rampart is in full view of Bincombe Hill, while the approach to the entrance causeway lies precipitously below. It is noteworthy that there is no heightening of the rampart on the south side, where the approach is relatively easy along the ridge. The entrance is simple and shows no trace of interring or outworks, but the steepness of the causeway slope would give a great advantage to the defenders.

An unusual feature of the rampart is the intermittent row of limestones, which break through the turf about a third of the way down its outer slope (see plan, fig. 1). These were found on excavation to be outcrop rocks set on edge and utilized as a revetment, though at the entrance, where they can be seen to turn neatly round the rampart end, they have been somewhat displaced. A limestone outcrop still in its natural state can be seen running along the opposite side of the valley to the west.

A cursory survey of the enclosed area shows that Chisbury was

¹ G. B. Grundy, *Arch. Journ.* xciv (1938), 198.

² Excavated by the local antiquary, Charles Warne. See *The Celtic Tumuli of Dorset* (1865), 58, and Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery* (1912), ii, 41.

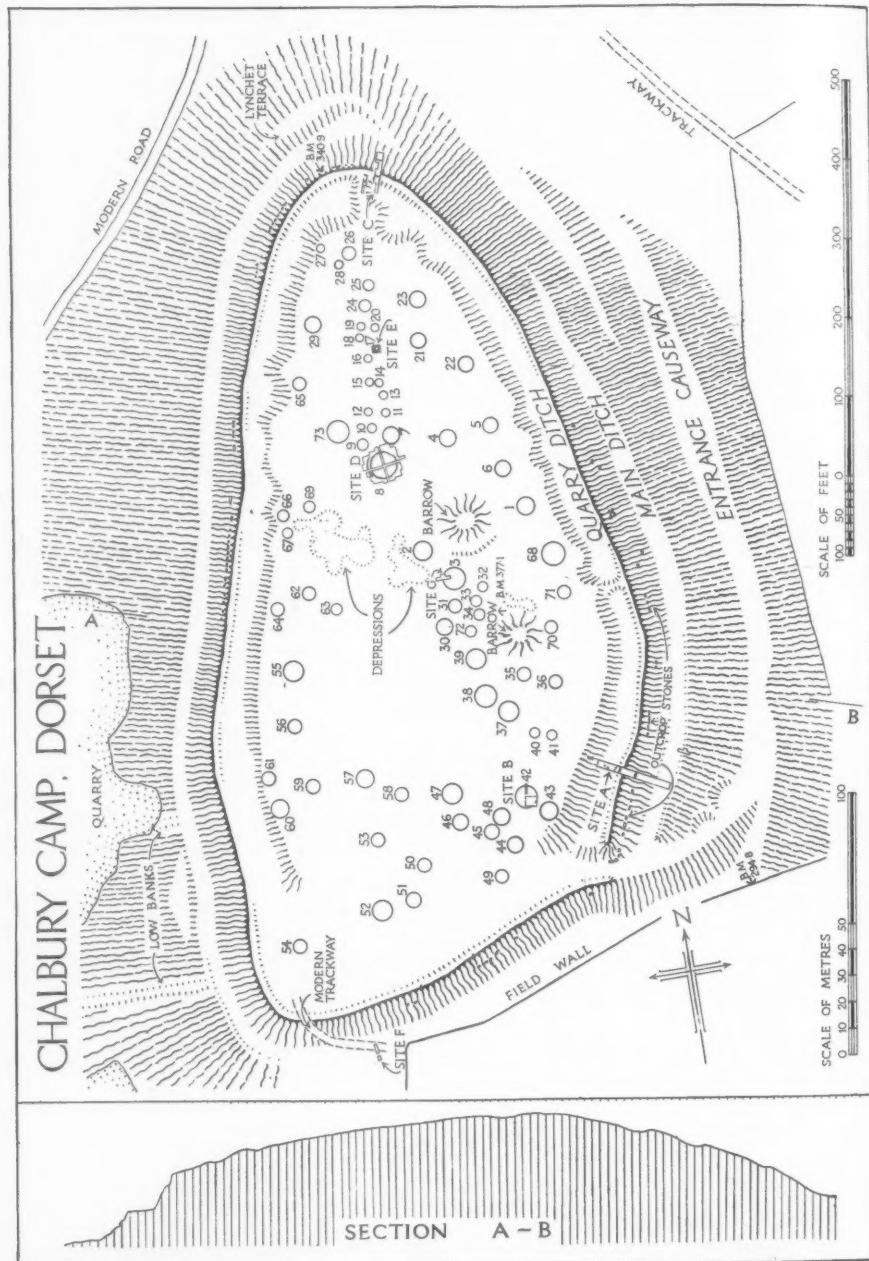


FIG. I

something more than a fortified place. Some seventy circular depressions or platforms,¹ large and small, bear witness to the activities of a fair-sized permanent community, while other shallow, irregular depressions can also be traced. Two Bronze Age barrows² crown the summit, and two low banks, possibly strip lynchets, run down the hill from the outer ditch at the south-west corner. There is a terrace at the north end below the rampart, probably also a strip lynchet. The camp can hardly have been a salubrious dwelling-place. It is more than usually exposed to the four winds of heaven, and, as the hill is hump-backed, the rampart could have afforded little shelter except to those living actually in the quarry ditch. However, limestone subsoil must have kept the site relatively dry, and water could easily be fetched from a spring less than half a mile distant. There was abundant pasture land in the vicinity, and the raw material for building wooden huts and making pottery could be obtained from the valley of the Jordan to the east.

Geological Note.—Chisbury stands on the oolitic promontory extending southwards from the ridgeway fault, which in this region marks the junction of chalk and limestone. The quarry on the west side of the hill shows Purbeck beds underlain by Portland stone. The visible strata are almost horizontal.

SITES EXCAVATED IN 1939

(Numbers in parentheses refer to layers indicated on section drawings.)

I. Rampart Sections

Two cuttings were made through the rampart. Site A was situated at a point 90 ft. north of the entrance, where the bank stood the normal height above the quarry ditch, and a further section, site C, was made where it stood 5 ft. at the north end of the camp, to find out whether such a marked enlargement and its accompanying causeway covered any special construction at a strategic point. [Plate xv b shows the cutting in an early stage.] In spite of apparent differences and the difficulty of interpreting layers in a limestone area, both sections told approximately the same story.

Site A. [Pl. xvi.] A trench 8 ft. wide was taken through quarry ditch, rampart, and main ditch, where some particularly large stones protruded through the turf. The rampart was found to be constructed in the usual Hallstatt style with a berm about 5 ft. wide, the protruding stones being outcrop rocks set on end and used as a revetment. At the edge of the berm was a large stone, which had probably fallen off a wall built above the outcrop [pl. xvii a]. The collapse of this wall may

¹ In this report the expression 'hut circle' is used, as it is the generally accepted term. So far, only the largest depression has been proved to be the site of a hut.

² One barrow was excavated by Charles Warne, who found in it two fragmentary urns and some burnt bones (*The Celtic Tumuli of Dorset*, 31).

account for the large limestone blocks in the ditch described below (17). The cut through the rampart showed that a packing of stones had been inserted immediately behind the revetment to make it more secure, and behind this again two or more tips of earthy material were deposited, (12) and (13). These were held up on the inside by a wall of small stones three courses high, which in position and construction should be compared to the internal wall of site C; its insignificant size at site A was probably due to the slope of the ground, which would cause the weight of the bank to press against the external rather than the internal revetment. Finally, a mass of large white limestones (11 A) was heaped in front of the inner wall and over the other tips, making the total height of the rampart some 6 ft. above the original turf line. It might be postulated that there were two periods in the building of the rampart, the earliest structure consisting of the revetments and the material piled between them, while (11 A) belonged to a later period. This, however, is unlikely, as there was no turf line over the original tips, and the inner revetment showed no signs of collapse.

The rampart of Chisbury may be compared with the berm and double-wall construction of the earliest banks at Maiden Castle,¹ but both external and internal revetments are of the local material, stone, instead of wattle or stone laced with wooden posts. This is clearly illustrated at site C, where the walls are relatively high. Indeed at site A the interior wall may be said to be vestigial. A glance at the Poundbury² section shows that Chisbury rampart is typologically intermediate between Poundbury and Maiden Castle. All had exposed external walls, but at Poundbury the internal wall was entirely lacking, while at Chisbury it was buried under the reinforcing bank. Only at Maiden Castle was it exposed to view, making an imposing castle-like structure. The three settlements show how the original Hallstatt technique could be varied to suit local needs.

The section was carried over the artificially cut face of the rock below the berm, and it was found that the ditch itself coincided with a geological fault. The clay and broken-up limestone associated with this must have caused the original diggers (as well as the excavators) many difficulties. The side nearest the rampart was cut with shelves to facilitate the transport of material to the interior of the camp, as at Maiden Castle, site H,³ but the lowest 5 ft. were dug almost perpendicular and through a mass of natural clay. The bottom coincided with a seam of loose limestone broken into small fragments by the fault.

The rapid silt of the ditch (18) consisted chiefly of rainwash mud and produced a fine haematite rim [fig. 4, no. 16]. In sharp contrast, the layer above comprised a thick wedge of very large limestone blocks with little interspersed earth (17). Perhaps some of these were

¹ *Maiden Castle Report*, 103.

² *Antiq. Journ.* xx (1940), pl. LXVI.

³ *Maiden Castle Report*, 122.



a. Site A. Rampart and berm showing revetment of outcrop stones



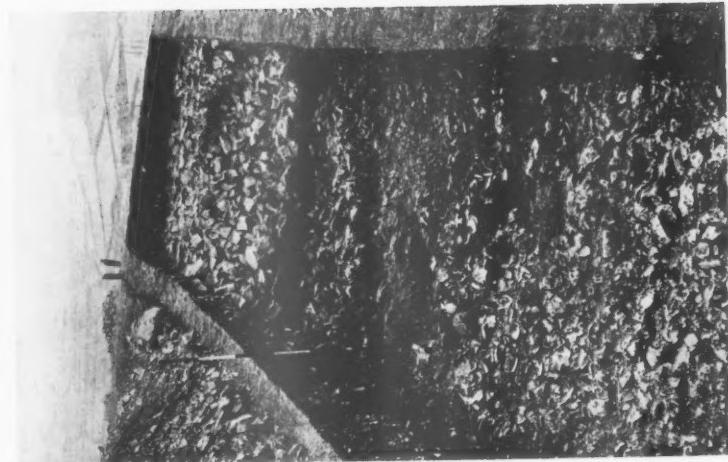
b. Site A. The final stage. The rough kerb and internal wall
can be seen in the foreground



b. Close-up of No. 1 showing post-hole of hut
and detail of human and animal bones



c. Site A. Hearth B



a. Site A. The quarry ditch

c. Site A. Hearth B

a. Site A. The quarry ditch



a. Site C. The internal rampart wall



b. Site C. The external rampart wall



a. Site D. General view of circular stone hut



b. Site D. Detail of the wall, slab floor, and small sling stone hoard

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EXCAVATIONS AT CHALBURY CAMP, DORSET 103

originally part of the outer revetment, which either collapsed or was deliberately slighted. On the other hand, they may have broken off the sides of the ditch, as the rock is comparatively soft at this point. No effort was made to clear them away, but at one time they were apparently smoothed off level with the main shelf, leaving the ditch still a fairly effective barrier. An iron knife [fig. 8, no. 49], a side-scraper (see Flint Report, p. 120), and a quantity of ox-bones were found among them. Above this loose limestone layer, the lower filling (16), consisted of clean, rather fine material which seems to have accumulated while the rock face was still open. A very small piece of South Gaulish Samian was found near the top of this, indicating that the rampart and rock face were probably bare of turf in the Roman period, a similar state of affairs to that at present obtaining in the quarry on the other side of the hill. The upper filling (15) was much darker in colour, probably because the turf had at last begun to grow on the rock face, making the rainwash material dirty instead of clean. Excavation showed that there was no counterscarp bank, and that the slight hollow over the main ditch was due to its being incompletely filled in.

The quarry ditch had been hollowed out immediately behind the kerb bordering the limestone cap of the rampart. The rock was harder here than on the site of the main ditch, and the cutting was somewhat irregular. An almost barren layer of powdered quarry debris covered the bottom (10), and on top of it lay hearth B [pl. xviii c]. This hearth consisted of six slabs of limestone and was surrounded by a circle of ash 2 ft. in diameter. The lower half of an inverted degenerate situla was found just as it had been left when a further quantity of debris overwhelmed it (8). Almost certainly the hearth was a rampart builders' cooking-place.

Immediately over the upper layer of debris (8) a wooden hut was constructed, and though only two post-holes came to light, a large spreading area of ash was discovered, which must have been the hearth [hearth A, (6)]. The floor was made up of a layer of fine trampled mud (5), but over everything a mass of human and animal bones, pottery, and charcoal lay scattered about in great confusion. It was not possible to recover the hut plan, or to arrive at a satisfactory explanation of the human remains in the space of a 10 ft. trench; their history and relation to the hut structure must await further excavation. They were not in articulation, so could not have been *in situ*, but may be the remains of early defenders of the rampart subsequently disturbed by the builders of the hut; human bones were actually found in the packing of one of the post-holes, so they must have been lying about when the hut was built. Cannibalism is another possible explanation; in any case, the phenomenon provides a striking instance of the casual treatment of human remains after death, a practice which is fairly common in connexion with Iron Age A settlements. Further

examples have been recorded from Yarnbury,¹ All Cannings Cross,² and Quarley Hill.³

The two post-holes of the hut were 4 ft. apart. No. 1 had a scantling of 10 in. by 6 in. and was 2 ft. 6 in. deep, the lowest foot being dug through the natural rock. The post had been tightly packed round with stones and earth to keep it in position. No. 2 was round and had a diameter of 9 in. It had been made in the same way as no. 1 and was 2 ft. 3 in. in depth; the packing contained an Iron Age A type bone gouge [fig. 8, no. 46]. The hut must have been inhabited for some time after the human bones had been deposited, for a considerable quantity of occupation material, (3) and (4), was spread over them which contained a notable quantity of large animal bones.

Site C. [Pl. xix.] As mentioned above, this site consisted of a cutting through the heightened rampart at the north end of the camp, and four small trenches in the causeway itself. It produced an early occupation layer (20) which ran right under the rampart and was made up of singular dark sludgy material interspersed with small limestones. Deverel-Rimbury sherds and splinters of bone were found together in small groups, but an Iron Age type bone gouge and some fragments of finely made pottery also came to light, so the layer should perhaps be attributed to the end rather than to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age.

When the Iron Age inhabitants came to build their rampart here no stone outcrop was visible. They therefore built an external wall over the Bronze Age layer, and this structure survived to a height of six courses. There were no post-holes in the 9 ft. examined, but it had a straight, even face and was made of quite massive stones [pl. xx b]. Like the outcrop at site A, there were supporting stones behind it, but here they were an integral part of the wall, making it wedge-shaped and thus more solid. The berm also was wider, and measured 9 ft. across.

The internal wall [pl. xx a] was quite different in type from the external one, and resembled the kind of structure sometimes built on the edge of an earth dump to prevent it spreading. It consisted of small stones irregularly coursed, and was bowed out considerably, resting on the material of the rampart behind. Only the top three courses, of larger limestone slabs, were evenly laid. The back packing was made up of loose limestone nodules occasionally bonded in to the front by larger stones. The tips were of little interest except layer (16), which was a mass of brown clay, probably decayed turf; it may have been intended as a foundation for the inner wall, as in the causeway section the wall was built on a thick wedge of it (5). One is reminded that

¹ M. E. Cunnington, *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xlvi (1933), 207.

² M. E. Cunnington, *All Cannings Cross*, 40.

³ C. F. C. Hawkes, *Proc. Hants Field Club and Arch. Soc.* xiv, pt. 2 (1939), 179.

turf was used as a bonding material at Figsbury Rings¹ and as a setting-out bank at Maiden Castle.² In front of the internal wall lay several massive stones, perhaps the original top course of the wall which collapsed before the reinforcing bank or ramp (6) was built. This ramp was an important feature of the site, and corresponded to the capping of white limestones at site A. It was made up of large greenish-grey stones, probably dug out from the main ditch.

The causeway was found to be remarkably featureless. It consisted chiefly of a mass of green sand (4), and thus did not represent any particular structure or strip of untouched natural rock. It was merely a dump of surplus material from the outer ditch.

Site F. No attempt was made to excavate the main entrance, but cuttings made in the trackway at the south-west corner of the camp showed it to be of recent origin. There was, therefore, only one approach in prehistoric times.

II. Hut Circles and Pit

Site D. [Fig. 2.] This was begun as a trial trench across the largest hut circle, no. 8; but plentiful remains were found, so it was decided to uncover the whole area. The foundations of a circular stone hut 33 ft. across were laid bare, but, strangely enough, neither post-holes nor hearth nor even an entrance could be identified. The wall was, however, quite well preserved and, although the external face had disappeared on the uphill side to the east, the whole thickness was still extant on the downhill side. It was fairly well coursed, although curiously enough many stones were placed end-on to the face instead of lengthways; remarkably small ones were used, and as many as eight courses were needed to make up the maximum surviving height of 1 ft. 6 in. In thickness it varied from 3 to 4 ft., and the filling was made up of loose earth and stones of all sizes. The hollow in which the hut stood had been quarried out before the actual building was begun, and the quarry edge was cut so that it could be used as a footing for the wall in the south-west quadrant. Possibly there was a straight joint in the north-west quadrant, where construction was begun, the builders working their way round again to the same spot.

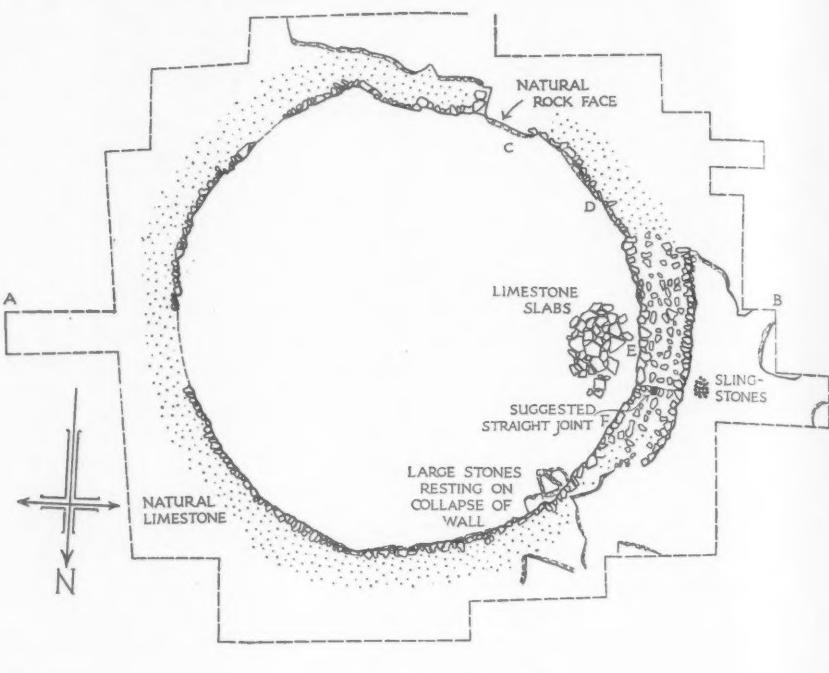
The hut was excavated on the cruciform balk principle. The area was first marked out in rectangles which were excavated individually. The minor balks were then removed, leaving the four major ones visible in the photograph [pl. xxi a]. Here again stratification was difficult, but a barren layer of quarry debris prior to the hut could be identified (5) in the western half, where the hollow was deeper.

Some time during the occupation about thirty limestone slabs were carefully laid down close to the wall on the west side of the hut. Their

¹ M. E. Cunnington, *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xlivi (1925), 57.

² *Maiden Castle Report*, 100.

CHALBURY CAMP DORSET SITE D HUT CIRCLE NO 8



SECTION A-B

NAMES OF LAYERS:

- (1) HUMUS
- (2) OCCUPATION
- (3) FINE BROWN EARTH
- (4) WEATHERING OVER NATURAL
- (5) QUARRY DEBRIS

NOTE: Illustrated finds from all layers Nos 19-42, 50-56.

SCALE OF FEET 0 5 10 15 20 SCALE OF METRES 0 1 2 3 4 5 6

ELEVATION C-D



SCALE OF FEET 0 1 2 3 4 5 10

ELEVATION E-F



SCALE OF METRES 0 1 2 3

FIG. 2

function is indeed perplexing, for they were quite unmarked by fire, and there was no ash around them, thus they could not have constituted a hearth. Perhaps they were the foundation for a bed or dais or even a threshold. In the latter case the entrance would have been beside them, but invisible on excavation, and the wall at this point only a sleeper wall. The most that can be said is that the stones were laid down for some purpose perhaps temporary; otherwise the floor consisted merely of earth, with pottery, ash, and debris trodden into it.

The soil filling the hut contained abundant Iron Age A pottery of moderate to poor workmanship, but of slightly later appearance than that from site A [see Pottery Report, p. 109]. Some charred wheat was found actually on the rock floor in the south-east quadrant, and, though there were comparatively few animal bones, an almost complete sheep skull was found in the collapse of the wall. Small groups of charcoal dotted the area, showing that the inhabitants lit many fires even if they had no integrated hearth. Certainly the great number of remains and the large size of the building suggest that the hut was some kind of centre; at any rate, it was occupied permanently.

Evidence of the decay of the hut structure was not easy to distinguish, but round the periphery of the interior was an extra quantity of stones which had presumably fallen off the wall and got pressed into the occupation material on the floor. A rough calculation suggested that there were enough to build the wall at least 1 ft. higher than at present. In the north-west quadrant some large weathered rocks rested on the collapse of the wall, and outside the hut to the west lay a group of about thirty slingstones, probably also on this collapse. Search for an exterior hearth proved fruitless, but an occupation layer stretching downhill westwards came to light.

Recent excavations have shown that the large round house should now be classed as a recognized Iron Age A type. Woodbury¹ has produced two post-hole examples, and the hut we have been describing must be the equivalent of these in stone.

Site B. Hut circle no. 47 was chosen for examination as it had a good level platform and was surrounded by rock outcrops. It had been scooped out to a depth of about 3 ft. 6 in. on the uphill side and had a fairly level floor, but many large lumps of rock stood up from it to heights of 6 in. to a foot. No traces of structure, either wall or post-holes, were discovered, and the only finds were a few sherds and slingstones. About a quarter of the total area was uncovered.

Site C. A trial trench through hut circle no. 3 on the top of the hill also produced no sign of building and only a small number of sherds.

The absence of structure in these two second-size hut circles is remarkable, and more cuttings should be made to ascertain how many contained huts and how many were featureless. Considerable labour must have been involved in making them, as limestone is harder to

¹ Dr. G. Bersu, *Proc. Prehist. Soc. vi*, pt. I (1940), 78 ff. and 92 ff.

quarry than chalk. They are probably 'hollows' similar to those described by Dr. Bersu in connexion with Woodbury.¹

Site E. Along the back of the ridge in the northern half of the camp there is a group of hut circles much smaller in diameter than the average size elsewhere. One of these, no. 17, was excavated and proved to be a typical Iron Age pit 5 ft. in diameter and 4 ft. deep, with straight sides cut in the solid rock. The lowest layer contained some very large stones, which might have been collapse from a roof. The upper two layers consisted of dark earth and yielded pottery similar to that from site D, though here also there were a few sherds of Romano-British appearance near the surface, suggesting that the pit was not completely filled in till after the end of the Iron Age occupation.

POTTERY REPORT

I. Late Bronze Age

The pottery from the pre-rampart layer at site C has for the most part a Late Bronze Age appearance. There are two sherds with finger-printing on raised bands which appear to be fragments of Deverel-Rimbury urns rather than situlae, and two others with stab-marks. They should be compared with the seven urns which survive from the Rimbury cemetery in Dorchester Museum. The pattern of triple horizontal striations [fig. 3, no. 1] is found fairly frequently on Late Bronze Age urns in Dorset and farther west.²

There are, however, late looking elements in the layer, such as a typical Iron Age bone gouge [fig. 8, no. 45] and a coarse sherd which embodies crumbs of yellow pottery probably derived from a Late Bronze Age urn. The rim of sandy polished fabric [fig. 3, no. 7] and a few unillustrated fragments of hard black pottery may have Iron Age affinities, but the presence of similar ware on Late Bronze Age sites is not unknown.

Rimbury cemetery is three-quarters of a mile distant at the other end of the ridge, so it is reasonable to suppose that the people who buried their dead there squatted temporarily at the Chalbury end, leaving debris which was later covered by the Iron Age rampart.

II. Iron Age A

In dealing with the Iron Age pottery³ a brief description of the

¹ Dr. G. Bersu, *Proc. Prehist. Soc. vi*, pt. 1 (1940), 64 ff.

² Examples illustrated in Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery*, vol. ii, are nos. 389, 396, 404, 405, 406, and 408.

³ Chalbury finds do not bear out the suggestion that, in the Iron Age, pottery was 'no longer a domestic product but was manufactured in certain centres and sold in markets' (Dr. Bersu, *Proc. Prehist. Soc. vi*, 1940, 105). The coarse wares were almost certainly made on the spot, for many sherds were of very poor quality, practically wasters, and it would not have been worth while for the inhabitants to import such poorly made stuff from outside. The finding of a lump of haematite at Maiden Castle (*Maiden Castle*

commoner forms will first be given, then the material from sites A and D will be compared, as the two different methods of house building are accompanied by distinct variations in pottery. Finally the pottery will be considered as a whole, and an attempt made to relate it to other contemporary groups.

The fine wares made of haematite and its derivatives may be divided into two categories. First, there are small bowls with curved or straight rims, bulging bodies, and omphaloid or dished bases, which we may call for convenience sub-type 1 [fig. 4, no. 10, and fig. 5, nos. 24-7]; secondly, there are bowls with angular carinated bodies, upright or flared rims, and what appear to be plain bases, which may be called sub-type 2 [fig. 5, nos. 19-23]. Sub-type 1 appears on both hut sites, but the other, which has a more striking metallic ancestry, appears only on site D. The leading type in the coarse ware is the situla, as on all settlements of the period. On site A it occurs in angular undevolved form [fig. 4, no. 14], and there are two less angular pots with finger-printing on the shoulder [fig. 4, nos. 8 and 9]. There are also plain devolved examples from this site and site D.

An examination of the pottery from the two hut sites gives the impression that the coarse ware from site A is of finer clay than that from site D; it is also less gritty and generally of firmer texture. The superiority of the haematite from site A is even more marked. It is made of very fine paste indeed with small grits, and the red coating is full coloured and often highly polished. Both slip and polish are usually extended to the interior, though in some cases this is only coated, and in others the paste is evenly smoothed over without coat or polish. On site D, however, good haematite hardly exists at all, its place being taken by a number of derivatives which are generally brown rather than red. The slip on them, if such it can be called, tends to peel off and rarely extends to the interior of the pots. Often it is absent altogether. There are also some exceedingly rough examples which have been but poorly fired [e.g. fig. 5, no. 22].

The absence of good haematite and the undevolved situla from site D suggest that it is considerably later in date than site A. This is borne out by the fact that finger-print ornament, usually considered an early feature in Wessex,¹ occurred on site A and not on site D. And if the stone-built hut is later than the wooden building, it follows that the angular haematite bowl, sub-type 2, which occurs only on site A, is a later type also.

There are other new pottery forms which appear on site D, though, Report, 380) shows that high-class pottery was actually made there, but the fact that there was a slight trade in Glastonbury wares at a later date (*ibid.*, 215) does not preclude the possibility of a similar exiguous trade in Iron Age A times.

The matter is raised here, as the acceptance or rejection of Dr. Bersu's suggestion might affect the current estimate of Iron Age A culture and economy.

¹ C. F. C. Hawkes, J. N. L. Myres, C. G. Stevens, *Saint Catharine's Hill, Winchester*, (1930) 101, 102, and 104 ff.

in considering this aspect, due weight must be given to the fact that only a relatively small area of the hut at site A has so far been excavated, while site D was completely cleared. The heavy straight-sided pots [fig. 7, nos. 41 and 42] are not found on site A, but this simple type occurs in many cultures and can hardly be used as a criterion for dating or cultural spread. They might, however, be due to the infusion of Late Bronze Age elements from the civilization of the pre-rampart layer of site C, just as Middle Bronze Age elements influenced a Late Bronze Age culture at site B of the lynchett-settlements of the Plumpton plain.¹ The open pans are another new feature. Narrow-necked pots [fig. 6, nos. 30, 35, 37, and 38] which may or may not be a type of degenerate situla, and applied knob decoration [fig. 6, no. 28], are also confined to site D. The few Romano-British sherds probably represent a late scatter and may equate with the piece of Samian from the main ditch.

We have thus two distinct periods within the Iron Age A occupation, and it is proposed to differentiate them provisionally as phase i and phase ii. It is still too early to determine their significance; whether they are the result of changes in fashion, or the work of two different tribes or sects who occupied the hill-fort in turn.

The pottery of Chalbury is closely comparable to that of the earliest Maiden Castle, though the sub-types of haematite are there less clearly defined, and the rims of sub-type 2 tend to be more flared than at Chalbury.² Finger-print decoration and the undevolved situla are very rare at Maiden Castle considering the relatively large area excavated; their presence at site A strongly suggests that the rampart of Chalbury was built before that of its greater neighbour. The stone-built hut at site D seems to be equivalent in date to Maiden Castle or perhaps slightly earlier. The camp probably continued in occupation through most of the Iron Age A period, though it must have fallen into disuse before the coming of the military rulers of Iron Age B times, for countersunk handles, bead rims, and Belgic pottery are conspicuous for their absence.

Both Maiden Castle and Chalbury belong to the western sub-group of the Wessex haematite province which Dr. Wheeler has called 'Maiden Castle A'.³ They have produced hardly any of the furrowed, incised, or cordoned bowls which are so common at All Cannings Cross sites, but have as their type specimen the plain 'flared' and carinated bowl which includes both of the Chalbury sub-types mentioned above. It is now thought better to explain these variations within the haematite province on a regional rather than a chronological basis.⁴

The map of the haematite sites⁵ shows that Maiden Castle and

¹ C. F. C. Hawkes, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, No. 2 (1935), 56, 58.

² *Maiden Castle Report*, fig. 56.

³ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 186–92.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 191.

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Chisbury were peripheral to the main group, though not far distant from it. It is remarkable that their ceramic tradition differs from Purbeck Settlements such as Langton Matravers,¹ for the latter are of All Cannings Cross type although only a few miles distant along the Ridge Way. The austere habit was apparently intensely local.

DESCRIPTION AND PROVENANCE OF POTTERY AND SMALL FINDS

*Pottery from the occupation layer prior to the rampart at Site C.
[Pl. xix, layer (2o)]*

Fig. 3

1. Rim of a Deverel-Rimbury vessel decorated with three sets of zigzag striations. The surface is the familiar light brown, but the paste is dark and contains large flint grits. For analogies see Pottery Report, p. 108.
- 2 and 3. Two other fragments of Late Bronze Age type, with raised bands of poorly made finger-print impressions.
- 4 and 5. Rim and fragment of the same ware decorated with stab marks.
6. Base of similar ware.
7. Rim of a thin-walled pot with smooth polished surface and sandy paste. It is of much finer quality than most Late Bronze Age work.

Pottery from the hut with wooden post-holes at Site A. [Pl. xvi]

Fig. 4

8. Part of a vessel of degenerate situla type with hard dark paste, smoothed surface, and finger-tip impressions on the shoulder. [Layer (5).]
9. Fragment of another finger-printed pot found amongst the human and animal bones on the floor of the hut. Unlike no. 1, the mark of the finger-nail shows in the impression. [Layer (5).]
10. Haematite bowl of sub-type 1 [see p. 109] with very bright red surface but soft paste, bulging body, and an omphaloid base. [Layer (4).]
11. Degenerate situla type of vessel similar to no. 1, but without finger-printing. The surface is very rough, but the paste firm. [Layer (4).]
12. Rim and shoulder of a large pot of good quality haematite. It is of the same brilliant colour as no. 10, but the paste is much harder. [Layer (4).]
13. Rim of a degenerate situla with rough surface. [Layer (4).]
14. Rim and shoulder of an undevolved situla, which should be classed early in the series, as it still retains the angle of the bronze original. Like finger-printing, this type is exceedingly rare at Maiden Castle,² though it occurred fairly frequently at All Cannings Cross.³ [Layer (4).]
15. A degenerate situla type vessel, very irregular in shape and colour. [Layer (3).]

¹ J. B. Calkin and C. M. Piggott, *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* ix (1938), 66.

² *Maiden Castle Report*, 195.

³ M. E. Cunnington, *All Cannings Cross*, pl. 30, no. 1; pl. 38, no. 6; pl. 40, no. 2.

16. Hard polished haematite rim which was found in the rapid silt of the main ditch and therefore must be contemporary with the building of the defences. [Layer (18).]

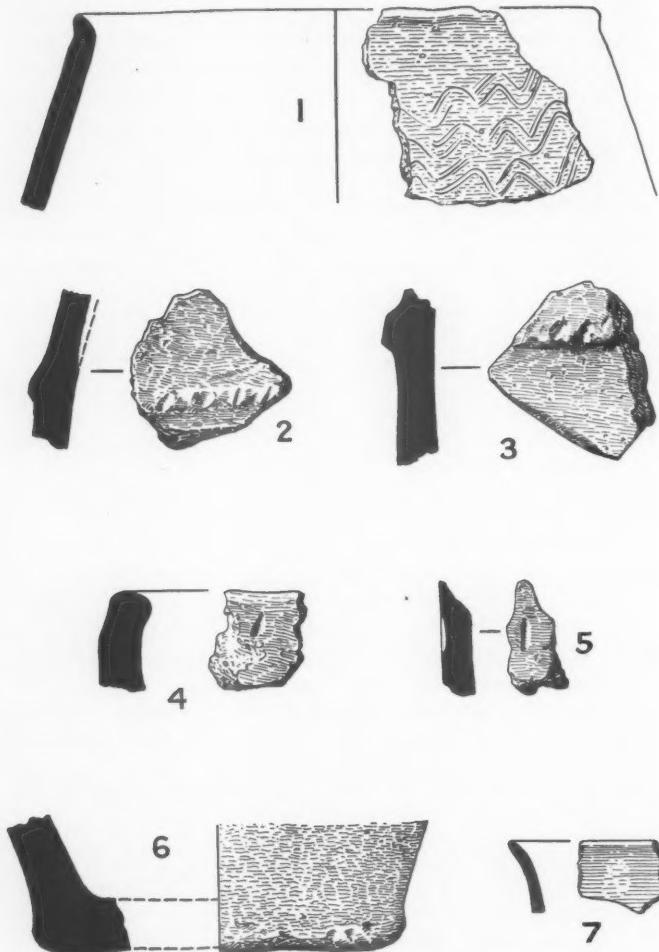


FIG. 3. Pottery from the occupation layer prior to the rampart at Site C ($\frac{1}{2}$)

17. Base of a cooking-pot found inverted over hearth B, see pl. XVIII c. [Layer (10).]

18. Plain rim of a pot of Neolithic A appearance, probably a stray; grains of wheat have been used as a backing for the paste, and show in the fracture. See also no. 31. [Layer (3).]

A fragment of Samian too small for illustration was found in layer (16) in the light rainwash material above the main ditch.

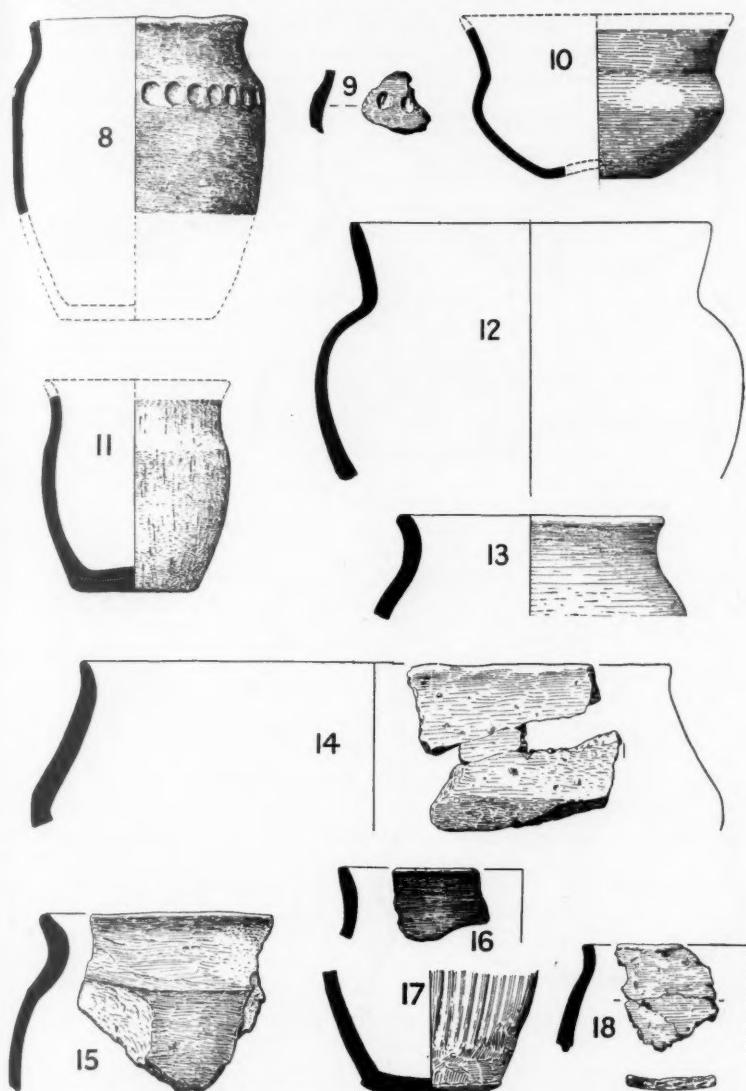


FIG. 4. Pottery from the hut with wooden post-holes at Site A (1)

*Haematite and derivative ware from the stone built hut
at Site D. [Fig. 2]*

Fig. 5

19. Haematite pot of sub-type 2 [see p. 109] illustrating the metallic angle, which is absent from site A. The base appears to have been plain, and the pot is

of good hard fabric; however, it is less well finished than similar ware from site A, and the colour is not so brilliant. The type is common at Maiden Castle,¹ but here the rim is generally more flared.

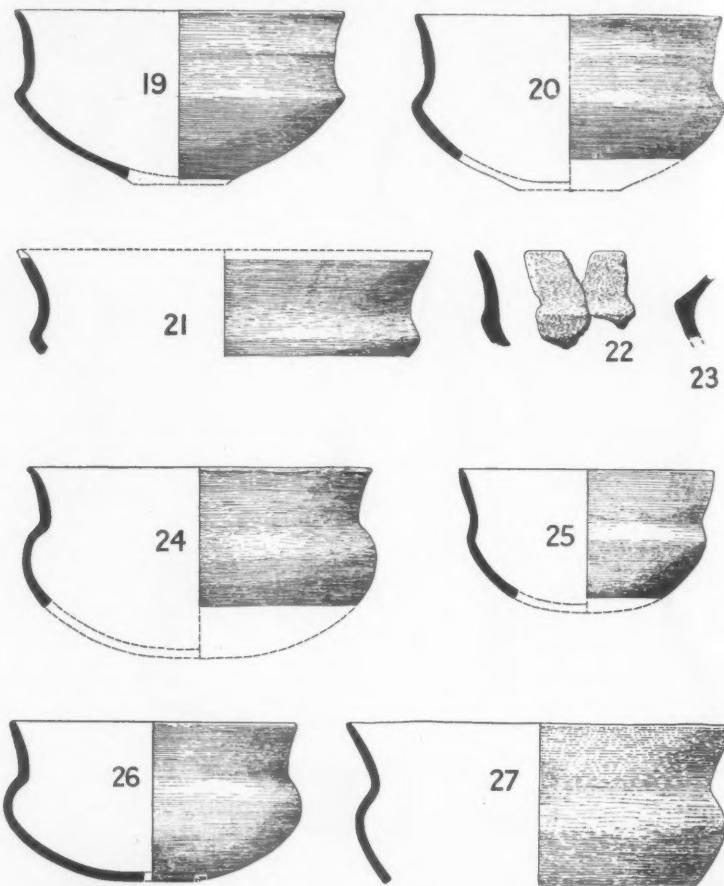


FIG. 5. Haematite and derivative ware from the stone-built hut at Site D (4)

20. Part of an angular bowl coated with a fine burnished slip, red in some places and brown in others.
21. The angle of a pot similar to no. 19 with reddish-brown slip.
22. An example of the same type, but degenerate in profile and texture. The fabric is rough and crumbly, and there are large grits in the paste.
23. Another example of the metallic angle.
24. Pot of sub-type I [see p. 109] of good hard fabric without slip or burnish.
25. This pot does not exactly conform to either of the sub-types mentioned

¹ *Maiden Castle Report*, fig. 56, nos. 5-8, 12.

above [p. 109], as it has the bulging body of type 1, but the bulge has been squared. The ware is quite good, and the dark paste has been fired red or slipped.

26. One of the best preserved pots from the site, made of very hard fabric. The outside has been fired brown, but probably has not been slipped.

27. Another vessel of sub-type 1. The dark paste has been fired reddish-brown inside and outside, and the grits have apparently been dissolved by rain-water, leaving the surface much pitted.

Pottery from Site D. [Fig. 2]

Fig. 6

28. Part of a large urn with bulging body and at least three applied round bosses on the shoulder. This feature occurs at places as far apart as All Cannings Cross,¹ Saint Catharine's Hill,² and Maiden Castle.³

29. Fragment of a perforated base. Similar perforations were found in an Iron Age A context at All Cannings Cross.⁴

30. Large urn apparently of degenerate situla type, though its almost straight neck and egg-shaped body relate it to nos. 35, 37, and 38 described below. The ware is close grained and very gritty, smoothed on the exterior but rough inside.

31. Decorated sherd found in an occupation layer just south of the hut. It is of dark, hard paste, has three rows of carefully made stab marks on the body and two inside the bevel of the rim. Decoration inside the rim and stab marks such as these are Middle Bronze Age characteristics inherited from Neolithic B ware, and this sherd is probably a stray dating from either of these periods (see no. 18).

32 and 33. Two rims with internal bevel; no. 33 apparently belonged to a bowl-shaped vessel.

34. Miniature pot with a shiny encrustation still adhering to the rim. It is made of good hard ware and was found just outside the hut to the west. Very small pots similar to this example were recovered at All Cannings Cross⁵ and Maiden Castle.⁶

35, 37, and 38. These three pots have straight, narrow necks and egg-shaped bodies and, with no. 30, seem to constitute a type on their own, though perhaps they are but variations of the degenerate situla. All are of good hard paste, well-fired, but not coated. No. 37 has a striated surface.

36. Degenerate situla with rough striated surface similar to the coarsest wares from this site, nos. 41 and 42 below. The fabric is comparable to these and varies much in colour.

Open pans and coarse pottery from Site D, two sherds from Iron Age levels at Site C. [Fig. 2]

Fig. 7

39 and 40. Open pans similar to those found at Swallowcliffe Down,⁷ Maiden Castle,⁸ and other Iron Age A sites. No. 39 is of fine-grained fabric, but no. 40 is very coarse and rough.

¹ *All Cannings Cross*, pl. 42, no. 1.

² *Saint Catharine's Hill*, fig. 10, A. 3.

³ *Maiden Castle Report*, fig. 56, no. 15.

⁴ *All Cannings Cross*, pl. 44, no. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 28, nos. 9, 14, 15, and 18.

⁶ *Maiden Castle Report*, fig. 56, no. 16; fig. 60, no. 72.

⁷ R. C. C. Clay, *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xliii (1925), 92 ff., pl. vi, no. 8.

⁸ *Maiden Castle Report*, fig. 59, no. 59.

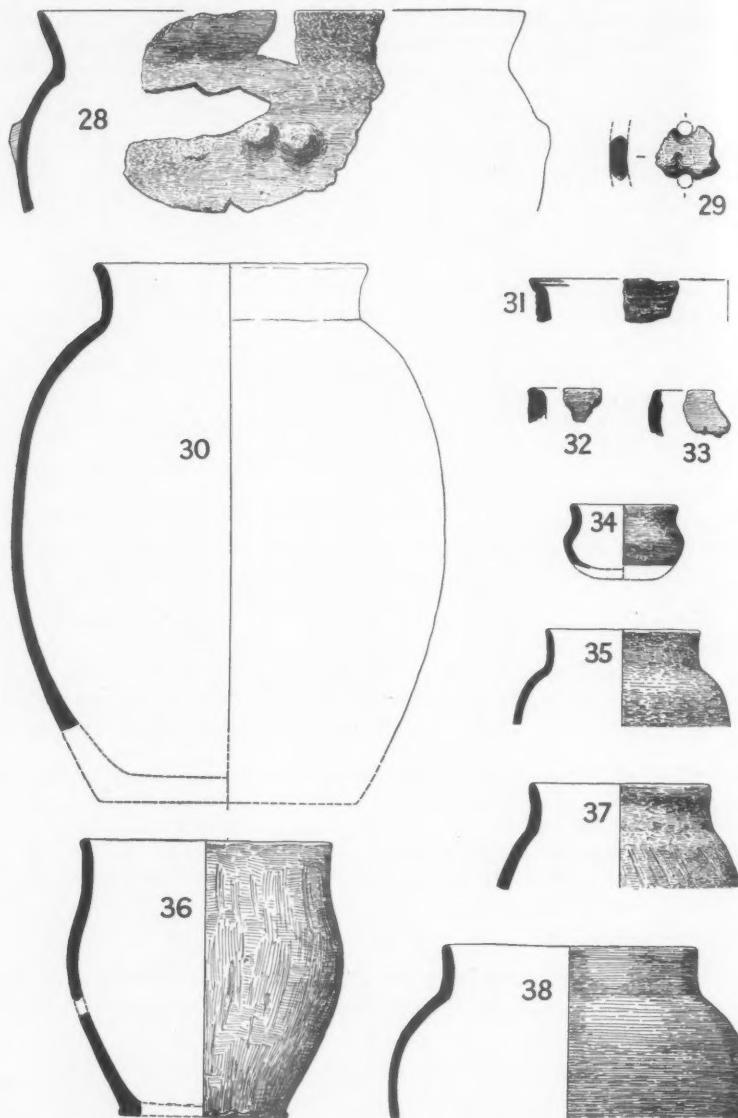


FIG. 6. POTTERY FROM SITE D (4)

41. Rim of a pot similar in type to no. 42 below, but slightly more bag-shaped. The surface is rough but not striated.

42. Large, straight-sided pot of very coarse ware, the equivalent of which was not found on site A. Its clumsy appearance recalls Late Bronze Age work, but

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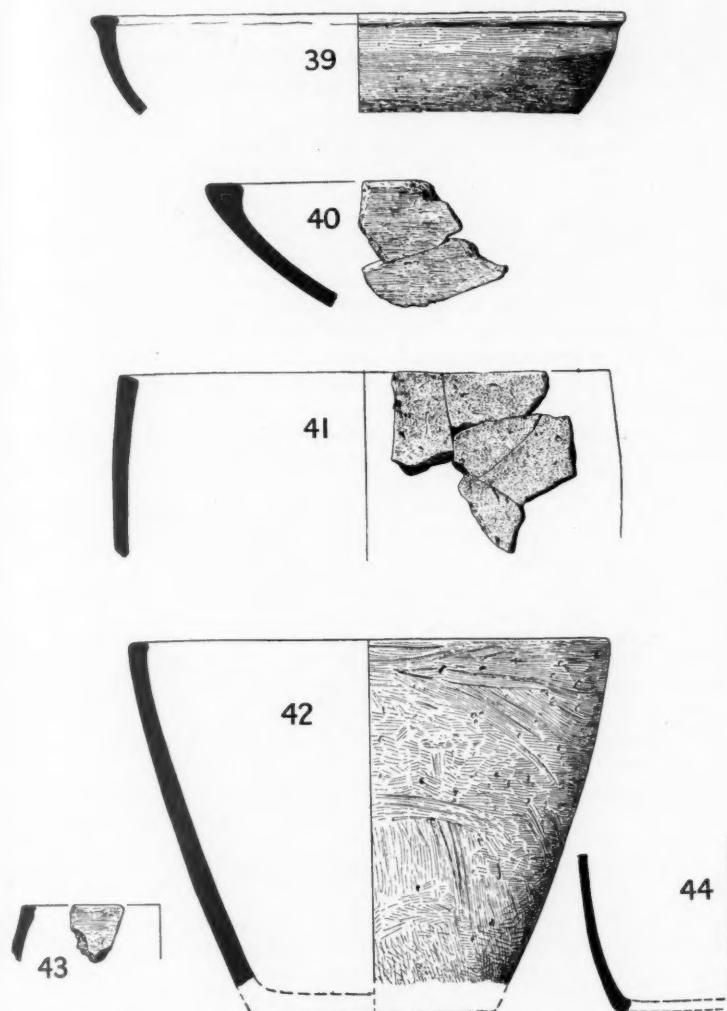


FIG. 7. Open pans and coarse pottery from Site D; two sherds from Iron Age levels at Site C (1/2)

the fabric is harder, and the surface is covered with striations; in colour it varies from yellow to red and black, due to uneven firing. Straight-sided pots have been found at Hengistbury,¹ All Cannings Cross,² and Maiden Castle,³ but they are not so large or coarse as this example.

¹ J. P. Bushe Fox (Soc. Ant. Research Committee Report, no. III), *Hengistbury Head*, pl. xix, nos. 8 and 9.

² *All Cannings Cross*, pl. 28, no. 17.

³ *Maiden Castle Report*, fig. 57, no. 20.

43. Rim of a bowl from the occupation layer on top of the weathered limestone ramp at site C. [Layer (4).]

44. Base of fine sandy ware which had been trodden into the surface of the berm in front of the external wall at site C. [Layer (18).]

Small finds from all sites

Fig. 8

In comparison with the abundance of pottery, the small finds are few and of poor quality. Only one iron object could be illustrated, as the action of soil and weather had reduced most of the others to shapelessness. No bronze was found on site A, but the inhabitants of site D could apparently avail themselves of fairly well-made objects and fittings of this material.

45. Broken bone gouge from the pre-rampart layer at site C. The association of this Iron Age type object with Deverel-Rimbury ware is remarkable. [Pl. xix, layer (20).]

46. Another bone gouge from the packing of post-hole 2 of the hut at site A. It is a typical Iron Age A specimen made from the tibia of a sheep with the working point at the distal end. [Pl. xvi, P.H. 2.]

47. Limestone spindle-whorl found unstratified above the debris of the site A hut. One surface is flat and the other rounded; the perforation is slightly countersunk. [Pl. xvi, layer (2).]

48. Flint borer from the same layer as the spindle-whorl. See Flint Report, Borer, p. 120. [Pl. xvi, layer (2).]

49. Single-edged tanged iron knife found in the loose limestone filling of the main ditch at site A. A similar specimen but with larger blade was found at All Cannings Cross,¹ and a poor one was recovered from Saint Catharine's Hill.² [Pl. xvi, layer (17).]

50. End-scraper from an occupation layer west of the hut at site D. See Flint Report, End-scraper, p. 120. [Fig. 2.]

51. Part of a saddle quern from site D with flat pock-marked milling surface. Saddle querns occur almost always with Iron Age A pottery and rotary querns with Iron Age B, so this is in the right context.³ [Fig. 2.]

52. Piece of bronze binding, possibly part of a chape, from the hut at site D. [Fig. 2.]

53. Very small annular blue bead found in the stone-built hut at site D, similar to one from Maiden Castle.⁴ Mr. Oliver Myers has kindly given the following classification: blue glass bead, length 2 mm., diameter 5 mm., Beck XX 1a, perforation VI b, colour Ort 13 o.b. [Fig. 2.]

54. Rivets found with crumbling pieces of bronze sheeting, probably the remains of a plaque on some perishable object. Also from site D. [Fig. 2.]

55. Fragment of a bronze bracelet or earring from the hut at site D. Rings of similar dimension were found at All Cannings Cross.⁵ [Fig. 2.]

56. Part of a small ring suitable for a child's finger, also from the hut at site D. [Fig. 2.]

¹ *All Cannings Cross*, pl. 20, no. 14.

² *Saint Catharine's Hill*, fig. 16, no. 5.

³ E. C. Curwen, *Antiquity*, ix (1937), 133.

⁴ *Maiden Castle Report*, fig. 98, no. 2.

⁵ *All Cannings Cross*, pl. 18, nos. 2, 4, and 5.

EXCAVATIONS AT CHALBURY CAMP, DORSET 119

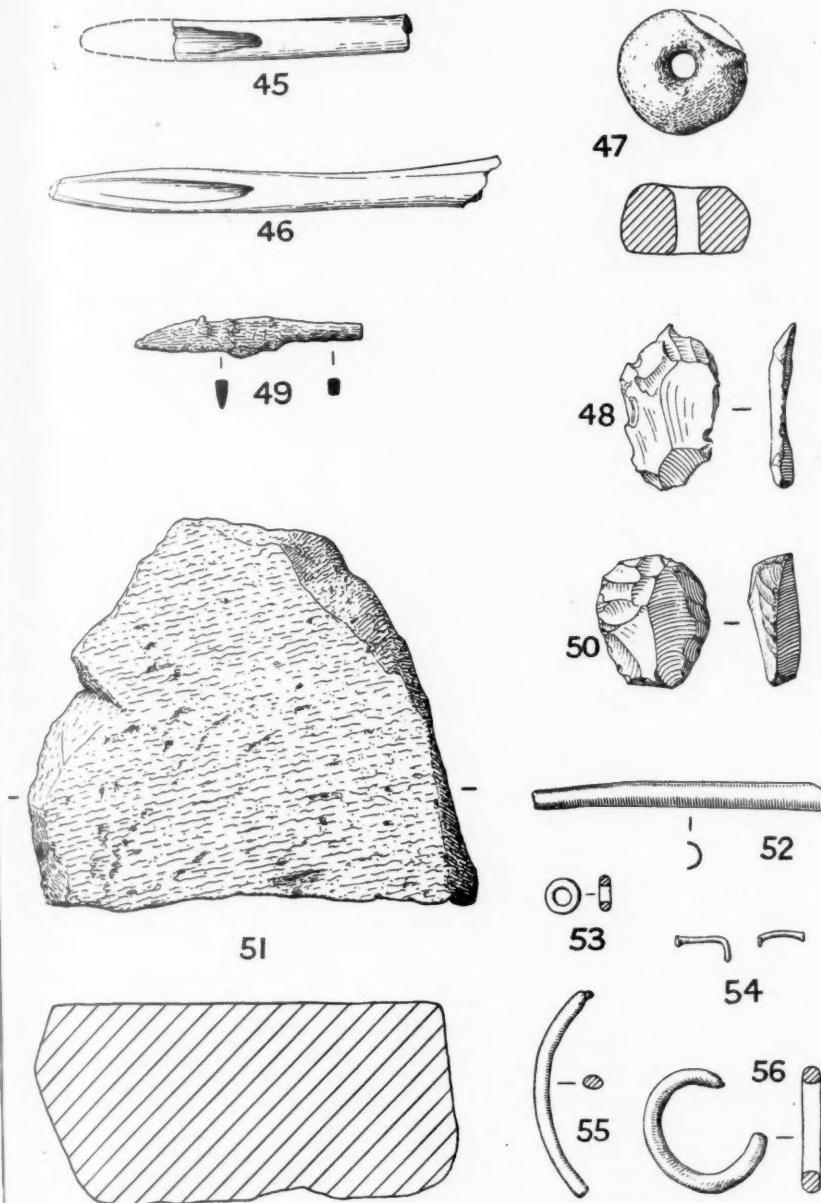


FIG. 8. Small finds. Nos. 45-52 (1). Nos. 53-56 (1)

A quantity of charred wheat was found lying immediately on the solid rock floor of the hut at site D. Professor Percival kindly reported that it was similar to the small-grained form of bread wheat found at Maiden Castle (*Triticum vulgare*).

REPORT ON THE FLINTS

By JOHN WAECHTER

The collection cannot be called the industry of the site, as the implement types are not complete, but it is worth describing as it represents the flint found by the expedition to date.

Material. With the exception of one specimen, the material used is slate grey chert; the patination is white and fairly uniform and there are occasional traces of original surface.

Finds submitted

End-scrappers	.	.	.	.	1
Side-scrappers	.	.	.	.	1
Borers	.	.	.	.	1
Core-tablets	.	.	.	.	1
Utilized flakes	.	.	.	.	5
Flakes	.	.	.	.	2
					11

End-scraper. [Fig. 8, no. 50.] This is the best specimen in the collection, of the short steep variety with central ridge and neat controlled flaking two-thirds of the way round; there is short flaking at the sides lengthening towards the end. It is of the same grey chert as the others, but is unpatinated. [Site D, Fig. 2.]

Side-scraper. Rather a poor specimen; the material used in this case is grey flint with white patination; it is badly cracked on the bulbar face, possibly by frost, as there is no sign of burning. The implement is roughly triangular with cortex on the base and a coarse steep retouch commencing half-way along one side and extending over the apex, thus forming a side end-scraper. Since the side retouch is obviously intended as the working edge, it has been classed as a side-scraper. [Site A, pl. xvi, layer (17).]

Borer. [Fig. 6, no. 48.] An irregular flake with a natural point opposite the bulb, this point has been accentuated on one side by a fine retouch forming a pseudo-borer. There is no retouch on the bulbar face. The tip of the point is broken. [Site A, pl. xvi, layer (2).]

Core tablet. A small specimen, 3·5 cm. x 2 cm., with fine nibbled retouch on one edge. [Site A, pl. xvi, layer (2).]

Utilized flakes. Five irregular flakes with their edges abraded in places through use, but with no deliberate retouch; two have hinge fracture. [Various sites.]

Flakes. One of the two specimens has been in the fire and is unrecognizable; the other is a small, long flake with the striking platform at an obtuse angle; it is of grey chert with a white patination. [Various sites.]

All the striking platforms, where they are visible, are unprepared.

The finds are too scanty to attempt an exact dating. The end-scraper [fig. 8, no. 50], although in the Neolithic tradition, suggests by its size that it belongs to the Bronze Age, and it may well have been used at a later period. The rest of the collection is undatable, and it is hoped that when excavations are resumed on this site, a more complete series will become available.

TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

So far as excavation has proceeded Chalbury has yielded an Iron Age hill-fort occupation stratified above Late Bronze Age material, and it has been shown that the post-rampart period can tentatively be divided into two phases. The undevolved haematite and situlate pots, finger-print decoration, and post-hole hut of phase i were only slightly later than the actual building of the rampart, with its double-wall construction, berm, and simple entrance. Only one hut of this phase has been trenched; it was of timber, and those who built it showed scant respect for the mortal remains of their fellows.

To phase ii belongs a round stone hut built on the top of the hill. It was without central roof support, elaborate entrance, or focal hearth. A small slab floor indicated slight sophistication, but the pottery showed devolution in technique, although it was more varied in form. Finger-print decoration had been finally abandoned.

Chronologically the first phase should belong to a period slightly earlier than the first Maiden Castle, for the older forms of pottery are relatively more common. The camp may have been constructed some time during the first half of the fourth century B.C. The round stone hut was built later, but had ceased to be inhabited by the middle of the first century when Iron Age B invaders were remodelling Maiden Castle. The relationship of Chalbury to Poundbury cannot be affirmed in view of the slightness of dating evidence from the latter, and Chalbury's place in regard to other recently explored Iron Age A settlements has yet to be more accurately determined. The site promises to reveal an interesting individual history and a possible further differentiation of Iron Age A pottery in Dorset. A more complete excavation of the camp is a desirable task for the future.

Exeter Cathedral: A Conjectural Restoration of the Fourteenth-Century Altar-Screen¹

By PERCY MORRIS

PART I

Introductory

THE early years of the fourteenth century were memorable ones in the history of Exeter Cathedral, for work on the new presbytery, or *novum opus* as it is called in the Fabric Rolls, was in progress. When Bishop Byton died, in 1307, building operations had reached an advanced stage, and the task of completing the work devolved upon his successor, Walter de Stapledon, a Devon man and at the time of his election precentor of the cathedral.² At that date the presbytery vaulting was finished, with the exception of its colouring, and the windows were glazed. The transformed chancel of the Norman church was nearly ready to receive the stalls, but the Norman apse still separated the old and new parts of the building. In 1309–10 'John of Glastonbury' was engaged in removing the stalls to the new quire,³ but we find no record of the date when the linking-up of the Norman building with the new work took place. The Fabric Roll of the following year records a visit of 'Master William de Schoverwille', master

¹ This article is abridged by the author from his *History of the Altar-screens of Exeter Cathedral*, and is divided into two parts to meet war-time requirements. Two sections of the article—'The Fabric Rolls' and 'The Sanctuary and its Floor Levels'—which in the original work precede the description of the conjectural drawing of the fourteenth-century screen, will appear as Part II.

Copies of the complete work and illustrations will be deposited in the Cathedral Library and the Exeter City Reference Library in due course. The half-inch scale drawing of the screen, until lately hanging in the cathedral, has been sent to a place of safety for the duration of the war.

References to the Fabric Rolls are taken from the following sources and are distinguished as shown below:

(F.R., O.) = Dr. Oliver's transcript (*Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, ed. 1861, Rev. George Oliver, D.D.).

(F.R., F.) = Archdeacon Freeman's transcript (*The Architectural History of Exeter Cathedral*, ed. 1873, Philip Freeman, M.A.).

(F.R., W. H. St. J. Hope) = Sir W. H. St. J. Hope's transcript (unpublished).

Although the author is unable here to mention individually the many friends who have helped his researches, he is none the less grateful to them; and, in particular, to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, who made the work possible.

² *Episcopal Registers* (ed. Hingeston-Randolph), Stapledon, pref., p. ix.

³ Fabric Roll (F., p. 76). Dr. Oliver's version of this—'To John of Glaston, for removing the former walls' (F.R., O., p. 380) is evidently an oversight in proof reading: 'Stip. mag. Joh. de Glaston ad removend. stallos per 14 sept., 52s. 6d.'

mason of Salisbury, to inspect the new work:¹ from this we may infer that a stage had been reached when important decisions were pending—the furnishing of the chancel, the building of the altar-screen, and the addition of a triforium arcade and clerestory gallery to the newly built presbytery²—and it may have been these undertakings which prompted the chapter to seek expert advice. The practice of consulting specialists, as we should call them to-day, was not an innovation: John of Glastonbury, whom we have just mentioned, was probably an expert at stall work; and later, 'Master Thomas of Winchester' was called in to advise about the bishop's throne.³ But whatever the object of William de Schoverwille's visit may have been, we know that the first of the altar-screens was built during Bishop Stapledon's episcopate (1307–26).

Unfortunately Exeter had no historian at that time to give us intimate details of contemporary events and building progress such as are found in the narratives of Eadmer and Gervase of Canterbury, or in the Florentine diary of Landucci. Hoker, to whom we are indebted for so much early local history, does not mention Stapledon's screen; and the brief and perfunctory description of it by Leland (c. 1540) appears to be the only account by an eyewitness. But we are not without evidence of another kind: the Fabric Rolls, of which there is a special series known as the Altar Rolls, give us particulars week by week of the work done, records of the materials bought, the names of the workmen employed and their wages, and the money spent. There is also the mute, but by no means negligible, testimony of a few surviving stones bereft of function by the removal of the screen.

So far as is known, there is no record of the date when the screen was destroyed. Dean Heynes wrought considerable havoc in the cathedral in 1540,⁴ probably taking as his pretext the injunctions of 1538. Any images before which lights were burned or offerings made, e.g. the images of St. Peter and St. Paul, may have been removed at this time. The screen was probably defaced and the remainder of the images destroyed under the Act of 1549;⁵ and it is significant that, in 1559, Queen Elizabeth's visitors ordered the dean and chapter to 'repaire the stone work at the high altar end of the quier'.⁶ The lower part of the screen was altered, and the upper part probably removed, in 1639, when Archdeacon Helyer's screen was erected. At this time the screen seems to have been treated in much the same way as those

¹ F.R., 1310–11 (Sir W. H. St. J. H.).

² When first built the clerestory windows in the presbytery had deep splayed sills, but they were altered 'within a year or so' by the addition of a clerestory gallery. Traces of the alterations are still visible (*The Building of Exeter Cathedral*, Bishop and Prideaux, p. 41).

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 52–3.

⁴ *Abstract of the Chapter Acts*, Rev. H. E. Reynolds, pp. 22–63.

⁵ 3 and 4 Edw. VI, cap. x.

⁶ *Abstract Chapter Acts (ut supra)*, p. 52.

at Ottery St. Mary and in Bristol Cathedral.¹ The last remnants of the screen were removed by John Kendall in 1818.²

THE FLANKING WINGS OF THE SCREEN

Bishop Stapledon's Tomb. The building of the first altar-screen was begun about 1316 and finished by 1326, the year of Bishop Stapledon's death, but at that date the high altar had not been consecrated. The screen extended the full width of the sanctuary and at its southern end was flanked by the sedilia; later on the bishop's tomb was added in the corresponding position at the northern end. But the screen has long since disappeared, and any surviving evidence of it must therefore be looked for in these two wings.

We have found no record that the tomb formed part of the original scheme, although it was not unusual for a bishop during his lifetime to choose his own burial-place: Bishop Bronscombe (1257–80)³ and Bishop Grandisson (1327–69)⁴, among several others, did so at Exeter. Stapledon was killed by a London mob on 15th March 1326; his head, according to the Pauline Annals, was sent to the Queen at Bristol;⁵ the body was first buried in the derelict church of the Holy Innocents, near St. Clement Danes, but was subsequently exhumed and carried to Exeter for burial.⁶ The bishop had been a great benefactor to the cathedral, and it was appropriate that the place of honour, the north side of the sanctuary, should have been associated with his memory.

Some years ago there was doubt whether the bishop was buried here, and it was thought that the tomb might merely be a cenotaph. The doubt seems to have been raised by Dr. Oliver, who quoted from a letter (30th June 1334) from Bishop Grandisson to Robert de Taunton, a canon of the cathedral and one of the executors of Stapledon's will. In this letter the bishop commended the canon's intention of building a tomb and chapel and founding a chantry 'in suburbio London' where Stapledon's body 'primitus quiescit humatum'.⁷ Later, however, Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph pointed out that the

¹ *Trans. Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, vol. i, p. 34. Letter from Elizabeth's Commissioners to the D. and C. of Bristol, 21 Dec. 1561 (printed in *The Principles of Gothic Architecture*, Bloxham, pp. 223–4).

² *D. and C. Act Book*, p. 125.

³ '... in capella fere de novo constructa juxta capellam beate Marie in ecclesia nostra cathedrali Exonie ex parte australi, ubi locum elegimus sepulture' (*D. and C. Records, Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, p. 71).

⁴ *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Oliver, p. 83.

⁵ 'Caput vero episcopi missum fuit dominae reginae apud Bristoliam' (*Annales Paulini, Chronicles of Edw. I and Edw. II*, vol. i, p. 316).

⁶ '... ductum fuit ad quandam ecclesiam Sanctorum Innocentium quae prope fuit praedictam ecclesiam Sancti Clementis [Dacorum], derelictam et omnino destructam, et ibidem fuit sine capite humatum. Sed postea, ex procuratione decani et capituli Exoniensis, dictum corpus exhumatum fuit ex praedicto loco et deportatum Exoniam, videlicet xiiii Kalendas Martii' (*Annales Paulini, Chronicles of Edw. I and Edw. II*, vol. i, p. 316).

⁷ *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, p. 62.

quotation was not copied from the original letter but from Grandisson's Register; and that in the process the tense of the verb might inadvertently have been altered from *quievit* to *quiescit*. The prebendary also mentioned an item in the executors' inventory of Stapledon's vestments, in which the three last words were at first found to be illegible,¹ but were afterwards deciphered and left no doubt as to the place of burial: 'Vestimenta de Bokeram in quibus Dominus Episcopus defunctus fuit Exonie sepultus.' In the *Chronicon of Exeter Church*² we read: 'Anno dñi m^o cccxxvij^o xxij die mensis marcij corpus ejusdem W Epi Exon sollempni tradit^r sepulturo.' This was probably the date when the bishop's body reached Exeter and was handed over to the dean and chapter for burial: the remains would have 'been exposed for the veneration of the faithful before they were finally buried in the cathedral'.

The date when the tomb was built is unknown, but the evidence of the masonry suggests that it was added a few years after the altar-screen was finished. It is unlikely that building followed immediately after the funeral, for the country was then in a very unsettled state: the king was a prisoner, and Exeter had not only lost her bishop, but the death of the dean followed a month afterwards.³ Moreover, during the interval between the bishop's death and Grandisson's arrival in Devon on 9th June 1328,⁴ the affairs of the diocese were temporarily administered by Adam de Murimoth;⁵ and afterwards by Bishop Berkley, Stapledon's successor, who died about three months after his enthronement.⁶ Meanwhile the diocese had become gravely disordered, and during the early years of Grandisson's episcopate the bishop had to 'face the most grinding straitness of means'.⁷ But the effect of his strong hand soon became apparent; funds gradually accumulated, and by 1330 'there was a good working balance in hand'.⁸ It may have been about this date that the tomb was built.

It would be interesting to know whether the same craftsmen who designed and carved the sedilia were also responsible for the tomb (pl. xxii, a), but the Fabric Rolls give no information on the point. The carving is reminiscent of the masterly touch which characterizes the sedilia carving; but the structure itself seems to disclose the work of another hand. On the north side the lower part of the tomb is coarse in detail and inferior in design to the upper part; so much so,

¹ *Episcopal Registers* (ed. H.-R.), Stapledon, pref., pp. xxxii–iii.

² *E.D.A.S., Trans.*, iii, 145.

³ Bartholomew de Sancto Laurencio (*Episcopal Registers*, ed. H.-R., Grandisson, pt. i, pref., p. vii).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pt. iii, p. xi.

⁵ Appointed custodian of spiritualities and commissioned to institute to all vacant benefices (*Episcopal Registers*, ed. H.-R., Grandisson, pt. i, pref., p. xi).

⁶ About 25th March 1327: died 24th June 1327, and left no register (*ibid.*, pt. i, pref., p. xi).

⁷ *Ibid.*, pt. iii, p. 172.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pt. iii, pref., p. xxii.

as to raise doubt whether it has not been considerably altered since the tomb was built. The marble panels bearing the inscription are obviously additions; and the iron fencing, quite good of its kind, is probably seventeenth-century work.

The bishop's effigy appears to have undergone restoration; and the crozier, a wooden one, is a post-Reformation renewal.¹ On his vestment the arms of the see appear in their earliest form—two keys addorsed—and on the shield at his feet, the bishop's own arms (*argent, two bends wavy, sable*) were probably painted. No trace of a charge now remains. On the ceiling of the tomb there is a painting of Christ displaying His five wounds; an indifferent drawing of which, in colour, appears in Reynold's edition of *Legenda Sanctorum*. The screen over the tomb is a nineteenth-century addition (p. 131).

It was at the east end of the tomb, under the canopy, that the first evidence of the screen was found: just above the floor upon which the effigy rests is what appears to be the top member of a plinth moulding (pl. xxii, d, A). A few weeks later, as the light improved, the whole profile of the plinth could be traced on the south side of the tomb (pl. xxiii, c, B); and from this it was possible to make a diagram showing the jointing and bonding of the stones, and the depth on bed of one of

them (fig. 1). The bottom member of the plinth has been slightly displaced,² and it is evident that formerly there was a terminal member below the present paving line. A conjectural member, similar to that used in a corresponding position for the pulpitum, of contemporary date, has therefore been added in dotted lines on the diagram; it shows, according to our estimate, that the floor line was about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches below the present paving level.

Examination of the small buttress at the east end of the tomb (pl. xxiv, b) reveals several insertions of stone and, from the jointing

¹ An illustration in Parker's *Glossary* (1840), pl. 64, has the interrogatory caption, 'Bishop Stapledon? Exeter Cathedral'. It shows the effigy of a bishop, apparently Stapledon, under the canopy of Sir Richard Stapledon's tomb, with feet towards the west. Britton (1826), pl. xvii, shows Sir Richard's tomb and the attendant figures as they exist to-day.

² Possibly by Kendall: 'additional work at the base of the stalls [sedia] and tomb' is mentioned in the account for his altar-screen (p. 253).

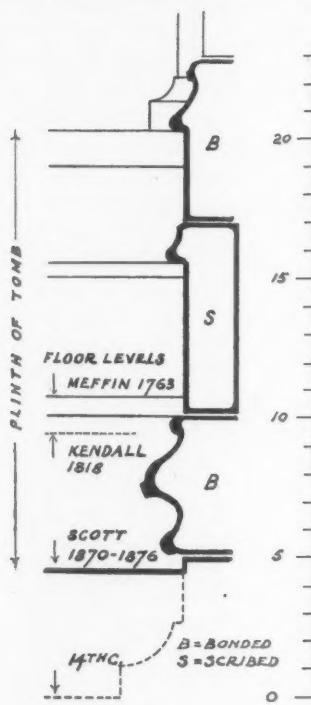


FIG. I

and the position of the plinth referred to, it can be seen that the face of the altar-screen was about 1 inch from the western edge of the buttress. The small head at the base of the pinnacle canopy is a post-Reformation renewal; above this, the crockets (A and B) and the finial (c) are fourteenth-century work. But to the right of the white line everything, including the returned ends of the cornice and plinth of the tomb (not shown in the photograph), is a post-Reformation addition. The later efforts compare most unfavourably with the corresponding buttress at the western end (pl. xxiv, a) where the heads are insertions, but otherwise the work is of fourteenth-century date.

The cornices on the north and south sides of the tomb are quite dissimilar (pl. xxiii, a, b), the latter being about 1 in. the higher of the two: this difference is masked by the parclose screen, which was non-existent in Stapledon's day. Originally, no doubt, the two cornices were alike and at the same level. The upper part of the large boutel moulding (fig. 2, A) has the same profile as that on the north side, but the lower part of it has been reworked, giving it a very coarse appearance (fig. 2, B). The position of this member has been changed and becomes the bottom member of the new cornice. The part between the arrow-heads (D) is a post-Reformation addition; above that, the vine-leaf cresting has been re-used or, more probably, renewed. The original cornice may have been mutilated at the Reformation, hence the necessity of replacing it.

The adaptation of the finial to meet the new conditions was not so simple: the jointing of the stone (not visible in the photograph) is conclusive evidence that the finial has not been moved since first placed in position (pl. xxiii, b). There was no difficulty in scribing the reworked boutel moulding to the lower part of the finial as there was stone to cut away (fig. 2, E), but the removal of the old cornice had left a gap in the upper part (fig. 2, F). It will be noticed that the centre leaf (pl. xxii, c) is typical of the fully developed fourteenth-century treatment of a vine leaf with its conventionalized and somewhat exaggerated modelling. The lower lobes of the large leaf on the right of it, below the white line, are also fourteenth-century work; above this, the leaf is reflexed and its character changes from a vine to an acanthus leaf. The joint where the new stone was inserted, although obscured

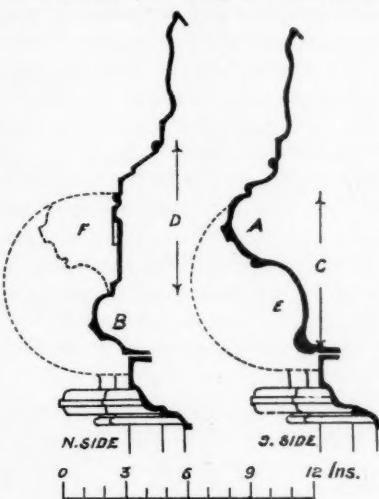


FIG. 2

by gilding, can be traced on the spot. The remainder of the upper part of the finial, above the white line, is a renewal, but the new stone was inserted so as to allow the old work to overlap it and mask the joint. Unlike the new leaf adjacent, which is well carved, the craftsmanship of the rest of the insertion is very indifferent, owing possibly to its being above the average eye-level and therefore inconspicuous.

On the internal wall at the east end of the tomb there are several fragments which presumably belonged to the screen. The first of these is the sloping set-off of a small buttress built into the remains of a quatrefoil. Below the quatrefoil there are the marks where the buttress was cut away: the set-off is now behind what was the plane of the buttress face and was probably moved back when the tomb was built.

To the right of the quatrefoil there is a finely sculptured figure of Edward II, painted red and blue,¹ the crown gilt, known locally as 'the man climbing up a pole'; a misconception due probably to Britton's description of it and an example of ingenuity in finding evidence to fit a theory. It runs:

'At the east end there is a very remarkable and diminutive figure, sculptured in relief, of a king, crowned, probably Edward the second, climbing up a pillar, with eyes cast backwards towards the crucified Redeemer [referring to the painting on the ceiling of the tomb]. This statue, which is painted and gilt, appears to bear allusion to the flight of Edward the second from London, and his committal of the city to the care of Stapledon'.²

There is a more probable explanation: on the left of the figure there is a large boutel moulding and to the right of it 'the pole'; between these two features is a hollow in which the figure is placed. The profile, in fact, is identical with that of the lower part of the cornice on the north side of the tomb (fig. 2, c). The fragment is evidently part of a fourteenth-century string-course meant to be placed horizontally, and in this position the figure relinquishes the ineffective appearance of climbing and resumes a crawl. A glance at the angels in the cornice on the north side of the tomb (pl. xxiii, a) will make this clear. It is possible that the fragment was part of the original cornice on the south side of the tomb or of the main string-course of the altar-screen itself.

To the right of the figure there are the remains of some fourteenth-century wall tracery of unusual and pleasing design, painted red and

¹ Stapledon was Lord Treasurer in Edward II's reign. An 'Ordinance by the Dean and Chapter admitting Edward II and Isabella his queen and their children to the fraternity of the church', 25 March 1315, is noted in the *Report on the D. and C. Records, Hist. MSS. Com.*, p. 75.

² *History of the Cathedral Church, Exeter*, p. 135 and note. The preface of the book suggests a probable explanation: Britton complains of courtesy experienced in Exeter, and returned to London leaving his three helpers to complete the investigations for his book. Britton may never have seen the figure and have trusted the description given him.

blue, the foliage gilt; they are not in their original position, but have been built in. To adapt them to the new conditions the thickness of the stone has been reduced to less than 2 in., and, in parts, to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. only. The tracery, which passes behind the sculptured figure but is not in contact with it, may have been applied like the tracery added by Kendall in 1818 to the walls under the pulpitum arches.¹ It may have come from the back of the altar-screen or from the walls of the sacristy behind it—the back of the Lincoln screen is panelled with wall tracery—and the arches found in 1805 (p. 130) may have had some connexion with it.

The large jamb above the eastern end of the tomb (pl. xxii, b, A), against which the parclose screen abuts, cannot have been there in the fourteenth century unless it was hewn out of the solid masonry when the altar-screen was removed. The bottom stone of it, resting on the roof of the tomb, is original, and on its northern face bears traces of the returned end of a vine-leaf cresting which has been cut away (p. 146). Both the stone and the cutting away were hidden when the tomb was added to the screen. Above this stone the north face of the jamb shows the marks of a boasting chisel and has been shaped into a large shallow ogee curve. The south side is cased with thin slabs of stone showing a wide vertical joint on the east face, and about 2 feet above the top of the tomb a fragment of tracery bar remains (pl. xxii, b, B). From its profile and manner of application this bar is evidently of post-Reformation origin and probably a survival of Kendall's screen. With the exception of the bottom stone of the jamb, which is in one piece, the bed joints of the facing and back of the jamb do not line.

In a hole in the top of the cornice of the parclose screen over the tomb the author found several fragments of carving and other objects, the presence of which it is difficult to explain:² they have been deposited in the cathedral library.

The sacristy doorway, of which the remains can be seen to the east of the tomb (pl. xxii, c, D) is an insertion, made in 1423–4, as we learn from the Fabric Roll.³ ‘For a new door of the new enclosure made before the Vestriary 10s.’ The jamb is rebated on the north side to allow the door to open outwards without reducing the narrow space in the sacristy. An upper hinge of the door remains, but seems to have been a renewal of later date.

There is one other piece of evidence of the altar-screen on this side

¹ Shown in pl. ix, *History of the Cathedral Church, Exeter*, Britton. These walls were removed by Sir Gilbert Scott by direction of the dean and chapter, but much against his will.

² The objects were: pieces of the vine-leaf cresting of the tomb; a small fragment of a late rendering of a trefoil leaf, probably fourteenth century; a small fragment of a medieval glazed paving tile (too small to distinguish the pattern or date); a carved acorn (stone) about 2 in. long; several cusp terminations sawn off the parclose screen; a small piece of deal with a charred end, and a fragment of rush similar to those used for seating chairs.

³ F.R. (O., p. 390).

of the sanctuary: the mouldings of the chancel arcade over the tomb show several marks where the pinnacles of the screen abutted against them. These marks are in two parallel rows which indicate the thickness of the screen. The large hole in the moulding on the south side of the arch marks the position of a horizontal bar (several iron bars are mentioned in the Fabric Rolls); it was probably used to steady the pinnacles of the screen, in the same way as the sedilia still have a rod for this purpose (pl. xxv).

Finally, there is the documentary evidence: Jenkins, writing in 1806, mentions 'a large circular entablature' over the tomb, bearing a Latin inscription relating to incidents in the bishop's life and an account of his death; also that the tomb was repaired 'some years ago' and renovated at the expense of Exeter College, Oxford.¹ Polwhele gives this inscription in full, and says that it was composed by Hoker in 1568 and put up at the expense of Bishop Alley (1560–70)². The first part of it is obviously an addition: 'Hoc Monumentum Rector et Socii Collegii Exoniensis in Academia Oxoniensi pio erga Fundatorem suum Animo, Sumptibus propriis reparandum curaverunt. Anno Dom. 1733.'

The Dean and Chapter Act Book shows that the tomb was painted in 1764,³ the year after the quire was repaved. From marginal notes, dated 1805, in a manuscript by John Jones, of Franklyn,⁴ we learn that 'the barbarous architecture in woodwork' on which the epitaph was written, was removed by Bishop Fisher in that year; and 'in the room of it he placed a coronet-work gilded, but effaced the gaudy colours with which the whole of the monument had been painted; and in the room of this epitaph he placed another which was sent to him from Exeter College for that purpose'.⁵ During the removal of the woodwork 'some arches of elegant design and workmanship, were discovered. These curious and beautiful Remains of Antiquity were, however, cut away by the directions of Dean Talbot'.⁶ The 'gaudy colours' were probably applied during the 1764 renovation, and the 'coronet-work' must refer to the new cornice on the south side of the tomb. The epitaph sent from Exeter College is, no doubt, the present inscription on the north side.

Jones also mentions that 'the mullions and tracery of the screen

¹ *History of Exeter*, p. 257. Jenkins writes as if the entablature still existed in 1806, but he was frequently inaccurate. Stapledon's Inn and Hart's Hall, Oxford, afterwards Exeter College, were founded by Stapledon (*Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Oliver, p. 57).

² *History of Devon*, vol. ii, pp. 5, 6.

³ *Op. cit.*, 4707.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 60. This MS. is in the possession of Mr. D. R. Palmer, formerly head verger of the cathedral, to whom we are indebted for the use of it. Jones was a well-known local antiquary; his MS. is dated 1787, but marginal notes, signed and dated 1805, were added. Jones died in 1821 (*Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Oliver, pref., p. vi, note).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶ Jones MS., p. 60.

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p. 89)

of the sanctuary or chancel', which had been partly 'blocked' by three wall tablets over the altar-tomb next to Bishop Marshall's tomb, were restored and repaired in 1805. The altar-tomb he identified as Bishop Woolton's (1579–93 1/4), but from the context he seems to have confused it with that of Bishop Lacey. At the same time 'corresponding tracery was continued and carried over Bishop Stapledon's monument' to replace the woodwork on which the epitaph was written.¹ The cresting of this screen (pl. xxii b, c) appears to have been a later addition: old photographs show a cresting on the corresponding screen on the south side of the quire, but that on the north side has a cornice only. The addition must have been made at some date after 1851, for wet plate photography was not discovered until that year.

The Sedilia. The Fabric Rolls make no distinction between work on the altar-screen and the sedilia, for the term *majus altare* included 'not merely the altar itself, but its appurtenances—reredos, sedilia, etc., etc.';² and we know that the building of the two structures proceeded concurrently.

There is a persistent tradition that the sedilia, the seats of the celebrant, deacon, and sub-deacon at high mass,³ commemorate the enthronement of Bishop Leofric (1050–71 1/2); and the injunctions following Archbishop Laud's visitation in 1639 referred to them as 'the ancient monuments of King Edward the Confessor the first founder of that church, and Egitha his queen, and Leofricus the first bishop of that see'.⁴

The three heads at the backs of the seats are also regarded as supporting this tradition: Archdeacon Woolcombe, writing in 1874, stated that the heads were then 'in a defaced condition', and although the central one was clearly recognizable as a bishop, the other two could merely be identified as the heads of 'a male and a female'.⁵ Sir Gilbert Scott restored them about that time as the personages with whom tradition associated them. But tradition and Laud's identification are not the only evidence: the three heads—a king, a queen, and a bishop—which terminate the hood mouldings of the triforium arcade immediately over the sedilia lend additional support. Tradition apparently went further than commemoration, for in the account by 'A Lieutenant from Norwich' (1635) it is stated that the king and his queen and Leofric 'did sit' in the three seats.⁶ It is scarcely necessary

¹ *Ibid.*

² *The Building of Exeter Cathedral*, Bishop and Prideaux, p. 56.

³ The celebrant sat nearest to the altar; the others in the order named. After the Council of Trent the order was modified: 'In missa item solemnni celebans medius inter diaconum et sub-diaconum sedere potest a cornu epistolae juxta altare cum cantatur Kyrie eleison, Gloria in excelsis, et Credo.' (Quoted in *Gothic Architecture*, Bloxham, p. 183.)

⁴ *Laud's Works*, vol. v, pt. ii, p. 495.

⁵ *Gleanings*, Cotton, pt. ii, pp. 8–9.

⁶ 'A Short Survey of the Western Counties' (*Chope's Tours in Devon and Cornwall*, p. 89).

to regard this statement seriously, as the seats themselves are sufficient refutation.

Archdeacon Freeman's identification of the sedilia with Leofric's chair—*cathedra Domini episcopi*—mentioned in the Fabric Roll for 1329, was based upon an entry 'for scraping (*frettenda*)' the cathedra; from which he inferred that it was made of stone and, therefore, as the bishop's throne was a timber structure, the entry could only refer to the sedilia.¹ The late Prebendary Bishop has shown, and his opinion is supported by Professor Hamilton Thompson, that the cathedra or bishop's chair,² as distinct from his throne (*sedes episcopi*), usually stood on the north side of the high altar, and was used by the bishop on such occasions as high mass and ordinations.³ A chair in this position was noted by Cosmo III when visiting Exeter, in 1669, and one is to be seen there to-day.⁴ A stone cathedra carved on a mantel jamb in the Deanery, 'of Bp. Vesey's time, flanked by initials J.V.',⁵ is thought to represent Leofric's chair, and such an object would have been regarded with great veneration by the bishop's successors. It is not improbable that the chair was removed from the Saxon to the Norman church, and thence to the fourteenth-century sanctuary.

Dr. Oliver quotes a charge from the Fabric Roll (1418–19), for an inscription on Lord Leofric's stone: 'pro scriptura lapidis Domini Leofrici primi ecclesie Exoniensis episcopi 20d.';⁶ and Freeman mentions an entry in the 1323 roll of 'an inscription of 500 [sic] letters 12d.; within 8d. of the sum charged 100 years later for "the writing on my Lord Leofric's stone".⁷ According to Sir St. John Hope's transcript of the item, the charge Freeman referred to was—'In cij and dj [250] literis scribendis circa sedem episcopi v d.'⁸ From the first of these entries Freeman infers that the sedilia were known as 'Bishop Leofric's (monumental) stone': adding, 'At least it is difficult to conceive what else can possibly be referred to'. He also points out that neither Hoker nor Leland mentions an inscribed gravestone of Leofric, and that *scriptura* was not a natural term to apply to incised lettering. Freeman then seeks to establish relationship between the two inscriptions by suggesting that the date of the second one is only two years after the completion of the sedilia, and the charge within

¹ Freeman, it has been suggested, was mistaken in his translation of '*frettenda*': Baxter and Johnson, *Med. Lat. Word List*, where *fretto* = 'embroider', 'ornament'.

² *The Architectural History of Exeter Cathedral*, p. 39.

³ The word *cathedra* is used in the 1506 Inventory to describe the chairs for the directors of the quire—'4 cathedre ligni volubiles cooperta cum coreo', 'pro rectoribus chori' (*Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Oliver, p. 329).

⁴ *The Building of Exeter Cathedral*, Bishop and Prideaux, p. 54.

⁵ 'The Travels of Cosmo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England', L. Magalotti, 1669 (*Chope's Tour*, p. 108). The chair has now been replaced by a reading desk.

⁶ *The Building of Exeter Cathedral*, Bishop and Prideaux, pp. 55, 56.

⁷ *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, p. 389.

⁸ *The Architectural History of Exeter Cathedral*, p. 41.

⁹ F.R. 1323–4 (W. H. St. J. H.).

8d. [sic] of the 1418–19 charge. He next conjectures that there may have been ‘some sort of painted inscription’ on the back of the sedilia, referring to events which the structure commemorates, and mentions that traces of colour were visible when the plaster on the back of it was ‘lately’ (1873) removed. As a parallel case he refers to the sedilia at Westminster Abbey—‘Immediately behind and under which is the tomb and effigy of Sebert . . . while on the back of the sedilia’ were painted figures, Edward the Confessor among them.¹

The argument is ingenious, but being based on hypothesis cannot be proved or disproved from the evidence he cites. There appears to be no justification for linking the two inscriptions on the grounds of date and similarity of cost—if a ratio of 1:4 (not 1:2·5 as he infers) can be regarded as similar—nor for assuming that the second inscription does not mean what the text implies: an inscription round the bishop’s throne; possibly a painted one. *Sedes episcopi* is the term used consistently throughout the Fabric Rolls to denote the bishop’s throne, and they show that painting was in progress at this time; shortly afterwards too ironwork was being placed round the throne: ‘in ferramentis circa Sedem Episcopi xv s. ij d.’² There is ample evidence that the throne was painted: the roll for 1319–20 records the painting of images there; and in his Report to the Dean and Chapter, in 1870,³ Sir Gilbert Scott wrote: ‘The magnificent Episcopal Throne should, so far as possible, be cleaned from its coating of paint.’ Scott was probably referring to the seventeenth-century painting, but the *Western Times*, 5th May 1873, records that when the ‘black paint’ was removed from the canopy of the throne ‘profuse colouring was discovered’.

There is the further point of the painting on the back of the Exeter sedilia, mentioned by Freeman: traces of painting can still be seen on the large pinnacle there, but they are post-Reformation work, certainly not medieval, dating possibly from the time of the restoration of the structure ordered by Archbishop Laud (p. 137).

Returning now to the 1418–19 inscription: Mrs. Rose-Troup has suggested that Leofric’s stone may have had some connexion with the transference of the see from Crediton to Exeter in 1050, and that the stone may have been part of a pavement brought here by Leofric. In support of this view an office in Leofric’s Benedictional is quoted: ‘Consecratio pavimenti que [sic] fuerit de primo loco suo in alium statum translata [sic].’⁴ From the context of the Fabric Roll in which the entry the inscribed stone occurs we incline to the opinion that the stone may have marked the position of Leofric’s first burial-place. It is not suggested that it was placed there at the time of his burial, for in the parallel cases of the graves of early bishops at Canterbury and Wells⁵

¹ *The Architectural History of Exeter Cathedral*, pp. 40, 41.

² F.R. 1323–4 (W. H. St. J. H.).

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁴ *D. and C.N. and Q.*, xv, 266–7.

⁵ *Archaeologia*, lxvi, 377 et seq.; *Wells, The Cathedral Church and See*, Dearmer, p. 127.

no inscribed stones were found. But the roll records the building of a new vestry on the south side of the cathedral, during which a window of the bishop's chamber (*camera*) was broken: subsequently, the workmen damaged the roof of the bishop's *claustrum*.¹ From these two entries it has been inferred that the site of the vestry was close to the palace: 'This "claustrum" or cloister, must have been the way leading from the Bishop's Palace to the South Choir Aisle of the Church which existed previous to the erection of the present one belonging to Bishop Oldham's time (1504-19).'² The site of the vestry was therefore close to the portico which Prebendary Bishop has identified as Leofric's burial-place:³ the spot must have come under observation at this time, and it is not improbable that the stone may have been put there to mark the place and to record the removal of the body to the cathedral at an earlier date, as we learn from the Exeter Book.⁴ The stone may have been removed at the time of the Reformation, when so many gravestones were disturbed; however, it needs some crucial evidence before the problem can be solved.

The design of the sedilia is a masterly conception worthy of the closest study (pl. xxv). In plan, the seats are semi-octagonal, graded in height and descending from east to west. Rising above them are three canopies carried on slender brass shafts resting on the backs of lions which serve as arm-rests. Over the canopies are three triangular niches, with pedestals for statues, surmounted by spires of clustered pinnacles arranged diagonally in receding planes—an echo of the treatment of the bishop's throne. At the back of the structure the design is varied; the space above the seats being filled with open tracery, gabled and crocketed, and capped with finials of unusual form and fine craftsmanship (pl. xxvi).

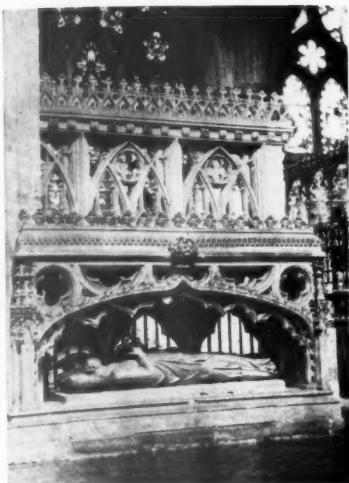
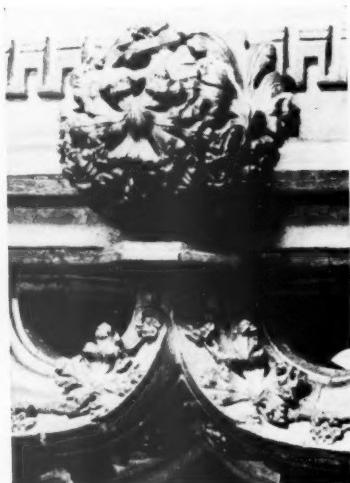
It has often been suggested that the lions are of earlier date than the rest of the sedilia, the main argument in support of this theory being the archaic character of their manes. Close examination of the masonry, however, does not support this view. The stone bases on the lions' backs, which receive the brass shafts carrying the canopies, are, with the arm-rests, formed out of the same stones as the animals themselves; and in one case at least this stone is continued and shaped to form part of the back of the seat.⁴ Further, the vertical lines formed by the lions' shoulders and their forelegs continue the spread of the stone bases, producing attitudes admirably adapted for carrying weight without the appearance of breaking the animals' backs. Some of the lions have been considerably restored; and the two at the western end differ from the others in having the stone under their bodies cut away. But the whole composition is so logical, and the

¹ *The Building of Exeter Cathedral*, Bishop and Prideaux, p. 98.

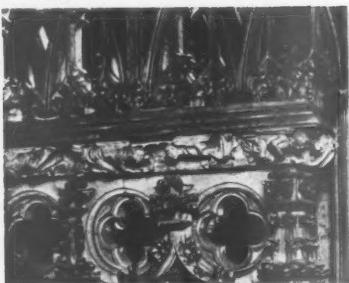
² The full report is not yet published.

³ *Op. cit.*, fo. 56.

⁴ The painting of the masonry makes the jointing difficult to follow in places.

*a.* The Tomb, south view*b.* The Tomb, north-east view*c.* Finial, south side*d.* Top member of Altar-screen plinth

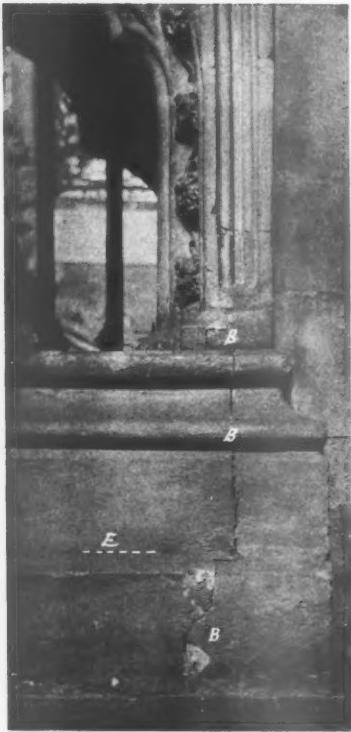
Bishop Stapledon's Tomb



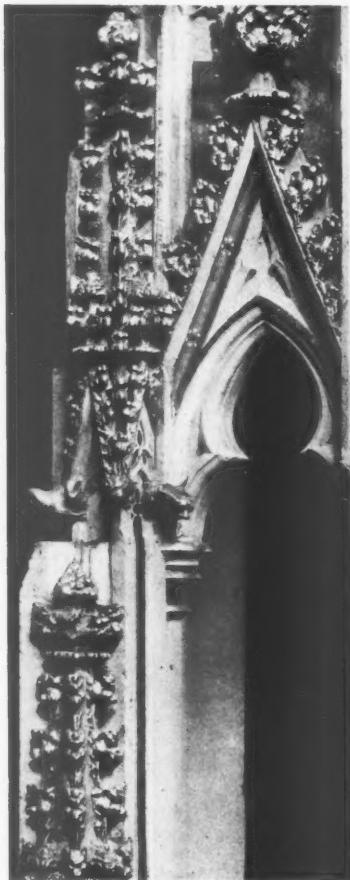
a. Cornice on north side of Bishop
Stapledon's tomb



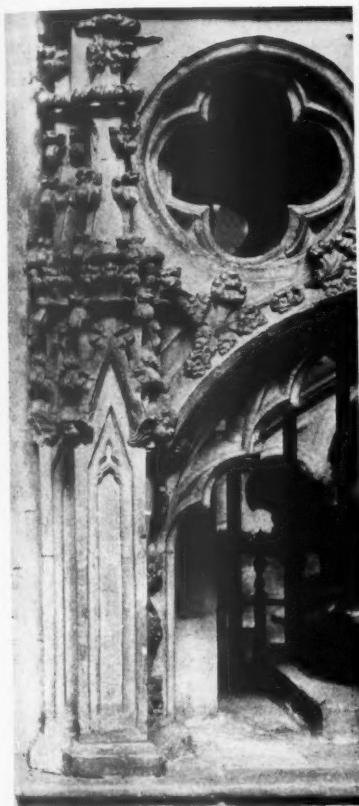
b. Cornice on south side of Bishop
Stapledon's tomb



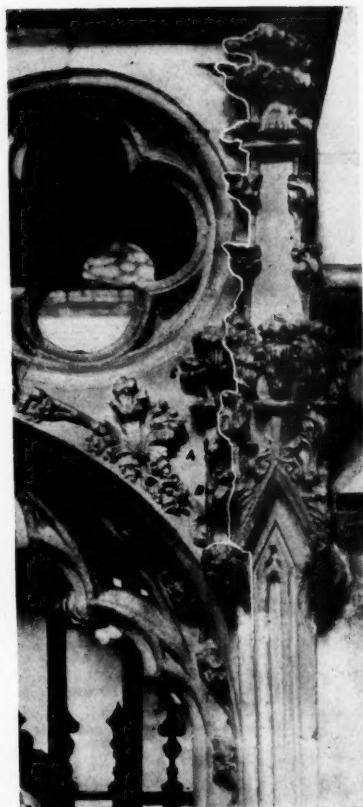
c. Profile of Altar-Screen plinth



d. North-east end of Sedilia



a. South-west end



b. South-east end

Bishop Stapledon's Tomb



The Sedilia, north side

lions so essentially part of the design, that it is difficult to believe such unity of conception could have arisen from the incorporation of a pre-existent nucleus. The treatment of the manes is undoubtedly twelfth century in character; but the fourteenth-century rebus on Bishop Harewell's tomb in Wells Cathedral,¹ and the still later examples on the Courtenay tomb in our own cathedral, have lions with highly conventionalized manes with separate curls, which tends to show that tradition persisted for long periods.

The late Mr. Philip Johnson, F.S.A., was of opinion that the whole structure was of one date—fourteenth century²—and the late Mr. McNeil Rushforth, F.S.A., to whom we communicated the result of our examination, wrote:

‘It entirely agrees with my own observations. Obviously they [the lions] form part of the original design of the structure. The archaic treatment of the manes with separate curls is interesting, and one must look out for other 14th cent. lions, and see if it occurs, which I rather doubt. It is characteristic of twelfth century lions (well shown on the black marble, so called “Tournai”, fonts in Winchester and Lincoln Cathedrals and elsewhere), but goes back to ancient times.’³

On the backs of the seats are the remains of fine mural paintings of tapestry designs: the pairs of lions at the top of these paintings have been curtailed, showing that the backs have at some time been lowered.

The question is sometimes asked whether the brass (latten) shafts carrying the canopies of the sedilia are original. Examination shows that they are of considerable age and have been spliced and riveted in several places. No stone or marble shaft of such slender dimensions would have safely carried the weight, and the question is best answered by asking another: What alternative to a metal shaft would have been available in the fourteenth century? Dr. Dugdale, writing in 1799, mentions that the shafts were gilded.⁴

The sedilia carving is an outstanding example of fourteenth-century work at its best—the product of a creative brain and a responsive hand working in perfect unison. It follows no beaten path, but displays the whole evolutionary range of contemporary carving from the early naturalistic treatment of foliage to its fully conventionalized climax. Particularly interesting are the crockets and finials of the centre gabled tracery on the south side of the structure, where the lingering influence of the thirteenth-century trefoil leaf can be traced under entirely new treatment, showing that as a motif its possibilities were by no means exhausted (pl. xxvi). On the north side also there is remarkable subtlety of refinement in the method of applying the

¹ *English Church Monuments, A.D. 1150-1550*, Crossley, p. 163. The date of the Harewell tomb is given as 1386, or about 60 years later than the Exeter lions.

² Note given to the author by Prebendary Bishop.

³ Letter dated 17th January 1937.

⁴ *Devonshire*, Thomas Dugdale, vol. ii, p. 132.

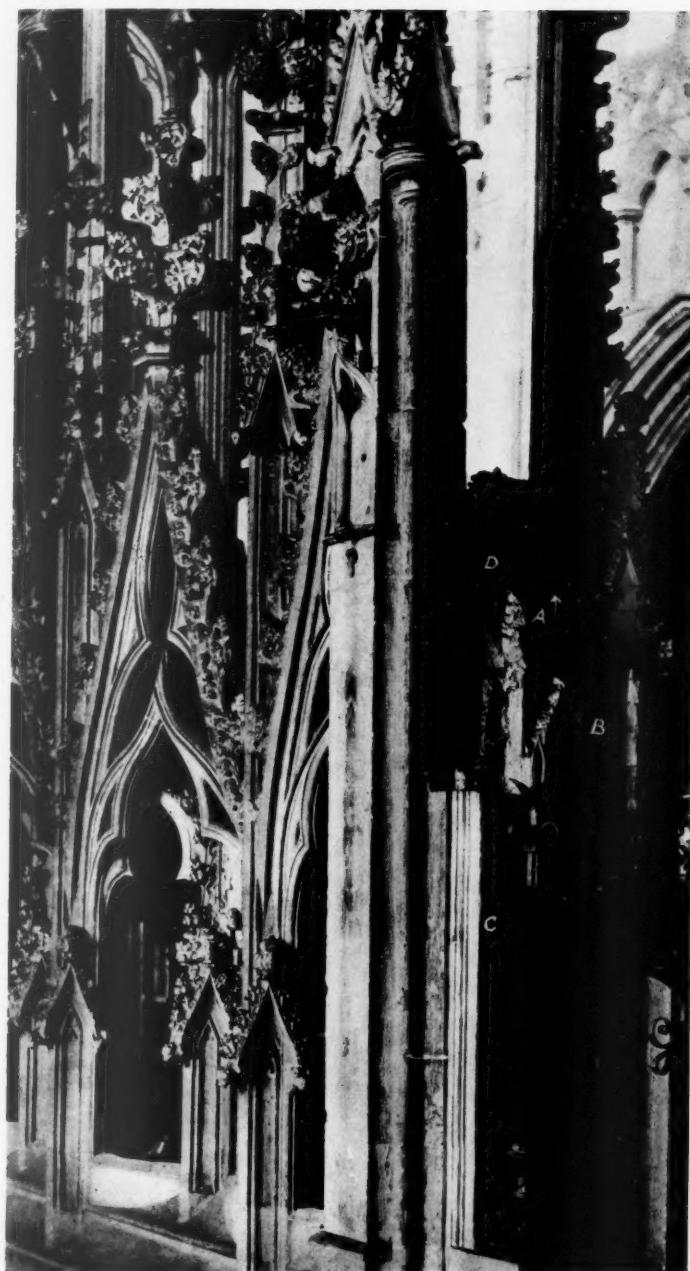
crockets to the pinnacle caps against the mullions of the large niches over the canopies, so as to preserve the delicacy of the profiles: this would have delighted the heart of Penrose, classicist though he was, and could easily have been ruined by a less gifted hand.

Turning now to the evidence of the masonry: on the north side, at the east end of the structure, there are two small trefoils under the canopies of the pinnacle cap, which it will be noted are quite dissimilar in character (pl. xxiii, d). That on the right has the circular bead and pointed cusp terminations characteristic of early work and of the sedilia as a whole, whereas the trefoil on the left is a slight cavetto in section and the cusp terminations are blunted. Moreover, the second trefoil shows the tooling of the stone and is unpainted. This distinction is possibly intentional and meant to show that this half of the cap is a post-Reformation addition, probably dating from Sir Gilbert Scott's restoration. Below the cap a broken pinnacle shaft will be noticed: originally, no doubt, this shaft was carried up, like the corresponding one at the back of the structure (pl. xxvi), and served to stop the main string-course of the altar-screen. It is a most important piece of evidence, for it solves the problem of the junction of the screen with the sedilia.

The east end of the structure has been mutilated by successive alterations, and there is little information to be gleaned from it. At the level of the arrow-head marked A (pl. xxvi) there are the remains of two small pedestals for statues (fig. 3, A, A). The sinking in the stone (pl. xxvi, B), just below this, looks at first sight as if the main string-course of the altar-screen had been returned there, but if it had been it would have terminated in a stopped end built into the wall, and not have been scribed to the masonry as this missing feature was. It may therefore be assumed that the sinking was due to an addition made after the sedilia were built. The back of the sinking, not the sides, is black: this was a puzzle until an entry in the Fabric Roll, *pyche pro cemento*, showed that bitumen was used for jointing the masonry. Incidentally, the fact that the sides of the sinking were uncoated strengthens the conclusion that it was made after the sedilia were completed. The whole of this end of the structure must have been embedded in the screen itself, and may therefore be disregarded as evidence of Stapledon's screen.

On the south side of the structure (pl. xxvi) the large pinnacle with the engaged shaft is shown by the jointing of the stone to be in its original position. The shaft was meant to carry a small moulded arch,¹ but if the pinnacle cap had then been in its present position, the springer of the arch would have been worked out of the same stone as the cap. Even so, the arch would not have cleared the crockets and stops at the base of the pinnacle canopy. Formerly this cap must have

¹ Pl. xxii in Kendall's book, *An Elucidation of the Principles of English Architecture*, shows a fragment of a moulded arch, but it is drawn most unconvincingly.



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been at a considerably higher level, and the mark of it can be seen on the soffit of the arch overhead. When the screen was removed a tall isolated pinnacle would have looked incongruous, so it was evidently shortened and the cap fixed at a lower level. The stone at c (pl. xxvi) is shown by the jointing to be original, but it has been reworked, giving it the appearance of an architrave: both it and the pinnacle bear slight traces of colour of post-Reformation origin.

We gather from Laud's injunctions that at the time of his visitation, in 1639, the sedilia were in a dilapidated state, for he writes that they have 'by injury of time been much neglected and defaced, it is hereby ordered that the same shall forthwith be repaired and beautified, and so kept from time to time clean and decent'.¹ In the same year the chapter gave instructions for the necessary work to be carried out by Peek and Pope 'with all convenient speed': their wages were fixed at 10*s.* a week,² and £22. 4*s.* 9*d.* was expended on it.³

At the Restoration of the Monarchy the sedilia were 'whitewashed and cleaned',⁴ and in 1745, according to Oliver, their canopies and finials 'were pared down for their present [1861] demure and stunted substitutes'.⁵ About 1820 they again underwent restoration, at the hands of Kendall.⁶ In the *Report of the Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, 1843, there is a fine set of plates of the structure, by J. Haywood,⁷ and in the description of these we read:

'Their [the sedilia] present state, however seems to shew how little they have been appreciated. There is great difficulty in ascertaining what was their original form, and it was only by a careful examination of fragments that drawings could be made. They have been much injured by a so-called restorer, who has stunted the pinnacles, altered the form of the canopies, and improved (?) upon the exquisite carving, by giving shapeless lumps of stone for spirited crockets, and has added something like cauliflowers for finials.'⁸

During the restoration of the cathedral by Sir Gilbert Scott the pinnacles were relengthened. Archdeacon Freeman, speaking of the restoration of the sedilia during its progress, in 1872, is reported to have said that seven hundred pieces of stone had already been inserted, and a thousand would probably be required before it was finished.⁹ This number, according to contemporary newspaper accounts,

¹ Laud's Works, vol. v, pt. ii, p. 495.

² D. and G. Act Book, 1639, p. 155.

³ The Building of Exeter Cathedral, Bishop and Prideaux, p. 61.

⁴ The Ancient Diocese of Exeter, Reynolds, p. 292.

⁵ Lives of the Bishops of Exeter, Oliver, p. 210.

⁶ The Building of Exeter Cathedral (*ut supra*), p. 57.

⁸ Op. cit., p. 179.

⁷ Op. cit., pls. xix–xxiii.

⁹ Devon Evening Express, 7th October 1872.

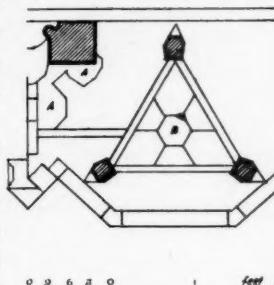


FIG. 3

gradually crept up to twelve hundred and, at the finish, to fourteen hundred.¹ The extensive repairs carried out at this time make it certain that much of the carving we now see was renewed; and although individual renewals cannot be traced owing to the joints being obscured by painting, the general effect is testimony of the exceptional skill of the craftsmen employed, and their ability to carry on the spirit of medieval carving without slavish copying and to develop it on their own lines. About 1936 the painting and gilding of the structure were skilfully renovated by Professor Tristram, at the expense of the late Treasurer J. F. Chanter and Prebendary H. E. Bishop, when repairs were again found necessary.

It is generally thought that the three lower niches of the sedilia originally held statues of Edward the Confessor, his Queen, and Leofric, and this is very probably true although we have found no conclusive evidence on the point. Dr. Ryves's account in *Mercurius Rusticus*: 'They pluck down and deface the statue of an Ancient Queen the wife of Edward the Confessor, the first founder of this church, mistaking it for the statue of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of God',² must be received with caution, for the sedilia are not mentioned by name, and we have seen a marginal note by the late Sir W. H. St. John Hope, in a copy of Freeman's *Exeter Cathedral*: 'This is more likely the image of O.L. in the coronation group over the W. door with arms of the Confessor underneath'.³

Then there is the account by 'a Lieutenant from Norwich' (1635):⁴

'Aloft the Quire, right against the South side of the High Altar, is a remarkable place, which is 3 seats, wherein King Edward the Confessor, and his Queen, on either hand of ye Bishop did sit. It is yet rich, but nothing so glorious as it had beene; their Statues being richly gilt, are quite defaced and pull'd downe.'

This may have referred to statues in the niches, or to the heads at the backs of the seats, for such terms as 'statue' and 'image' were given very wide interpretation in those days.

Freeman had no doubt upon the point when he wrote:

'The sedilia statues were not actually put in their places, it seems, until 1319-20; when we have "two [sic] pounds of lead for the images in the Bishop's seat;" no doubt for fixing them in the sockets. And this is the year assigned by our historians (e.g. Walcott, s.v. sedilia) for the erection of the sedilia'.⁵

Unfortunately for his argument, Freeman overlooked the qualifying adjective of *plumbum*: the entry on which he relied did not refer to lead as a metal, such as would be used for 'running' dowels, but to white lead (*album plumbum*) which, as the Fabric Roll shows, was being used at the time to paint the images on the bishop's throne—

¹ *Western Times*, 5th May 1873; *Exeter Gazette*, 19th October 1877.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

³ In the possession of Prebendary Bishop.

⁴ Chope's *Tours*, p. 89.

⁵ *History of Exeter Cathedral*, p. 40.

'In ij. cum dj de albo plumbo x d. pro ymaginibus sedis episcopi'.¹ Freeman's obsession that *sedes episcopi* denoted the sedilia constantly led him astray: thus he held that the entry in the Christmas term, 1318, 'In sex ymaginibus taillandis [sic] per sede Episcopi xxxij s.'² referred to images for the sedilia, and supported his argument with the statement:

'These might naturally at first sight, be supposed to be for the completion of the throne of wood. But so it is, that there are but five niches there for statues; whereas in the sedilia the number is exactly six, as this entry requires: viz, three smaller ones, in addition to those described. Moreover, we have no instance in the rolls, I believe, of the word here used for "carving" (talliare, Fr. tailler) being applied to wood. I conclude, therefore, the sedilia statues are here meant.'³

But, as Prebendary Bishop has pointed out, there are six brackets on the bishop's throne intended for statues.⁴ Nor is the point about the use of the verb *talliare* more successful, for we read in the Fabric Roll (1317-18) an entry for carving the bosses of the tower vaulting, which is constructed of timber—'pro xvij clavis lygneis talliandis'.⁵

A CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF THE ALTAR-SCREEN

The altar-screen is often referred to in the Fabric Rolls and other documents as *tablatura*, one of the many variants of *tabula*; sometimes the word is qualified by the adjective *lapidea* to denote the material used. The same word, *tablatura*, was used for the image screen of the west front of the cathedral, and in other instances both this and the altar-screen are termed *frontispicio*; but whatever the name, it is clear 'that it signifies a screen for the display of sculptured imagery'.

Various details of the screen have been mentioned in the preceding pages, but there are others to be considered. Sir Gilbert Scott believed that the canopy in St. Andrew's chapel had formed part of the altar-screen,⁶ and at first sight this seems probable: it is of fourteenth-century date and not in its original position, as is shown by the raw ends of the stone bench which formerly extended across the north wall of the chapel. But close examination makes it extremely difficult to find a place in the design. The canopy has never had any feature built against it, and was meant to project from a plain wall surface, for the stones out of which the gable slopes and the jambs on either side of them are formed extend some 5 in. beyond the moulded portion. These stones are what is technically termed 'sunk', and the sunken parts now coincide with the plane of the chapel wall. The tail of the

¹ F.R. 1319-20 (W. H. St. J. H.).

² *Ibid.*, 1317-18 (W. H. St. J. H.).

³ *History of Exeter Cathedral*, p. 40.

⁴ *The Building of Exeter Cathedral*, p. 53.

⁵ F.R. (W. H. St. J. H.).

⁶ *The Building of Exeter Cathedral*, Bishop and Prideaux, p. 112.

dog at the termination of the hood moulding remains intact on the sunken surface. The width between the outer edges of the moulded jambs is 8 ft. 3 in., or equal to the combined width of the three canopies of the sedilia, but 2 ft. 9 in. less than the width of the high altar. As a central feature of the altar-screen this scale seems overpowering, and its effect in killing the scale of the sedilia can be judged from a glance at an old photograph of Kendall's altar-screen,¹ where the canopy next to the sedilia was about 5 ft. 6 in. wide.

The canopy we are considering bears striking resemblance to the back of the sedilia, just above the seats, *and is of the same width*: the crockets of the gable on the left are applied as natural leaves, as in the corresponding gable of the sedilia. The other two gables, like the sedilia again, have the later fully conventionalized crockets. With these facts in mind, we incline to the opinion that the canopy formed part of some structure on the north side of the sanctuary before Stapledon's tomb was added. This position suggests an Easter sepulchre: it was the usual place for such a structure—either a temporary erection set up annually, or a permanent feature as at Lincoln Cathedral² and, nearer home, at Holcombe Burnell and Throwleigh. The angel corbels supporting the canopy strengthen this conjecture. At Exeter we read, 'the taper "in the sepulchre with the Lord's body" was burned till matins of the festival (Stat. 72)', but the position of the structure is not mentioned.³ John of Avranches described the ceremony of washing the cross with wine and water preparatory to placing it 'either in the space within the back of the altar—under the altar slab—or in the portable or permanent tomb known as the Easter Sepulchre before which a curtain or veil was drawn until Easter morning'.⁴ However, we know of no grounds for supposing that this practice was followed here, and for the reasons given we have not incorporated the canopy in our conjectural drawing of the screen.

The will of Canon Germyn (1459) mentions 'candles for the images of St. Peter and St. Paul at the high altar': it is thought that these images stood, as at Southwark, at the extreme north and south ends of the screen; St. Peter 'in the patron's usual place on the north side'.⁵ They are supposed to have been the gift of Stapledon, and this is not unlikely, for St. Peter and St. Paul were his patron saints, but a document among the D. and C. Archives merely records that he caused them to be made (*fieri fecit*).⁶ Among other references to them, 16d. was paid for painting St. Peter's sword when the front of the screen

¹ See illustration in the original script of paper.

² *The Cathedral Churches of England*, Hamilton Thompson, p. 116.

³ *The Cathedral Church of Exeter*, Hewett, p. 29.

⁴ *Ancient Holy Week Ceremonial*, Feasey, p. 136 (reference kindly given by Miss Lega-Weekes).

⁵ *The Building of Exeter Cathedral*, Bishop and Prideaux, p. 59.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 3678, fo. 56.

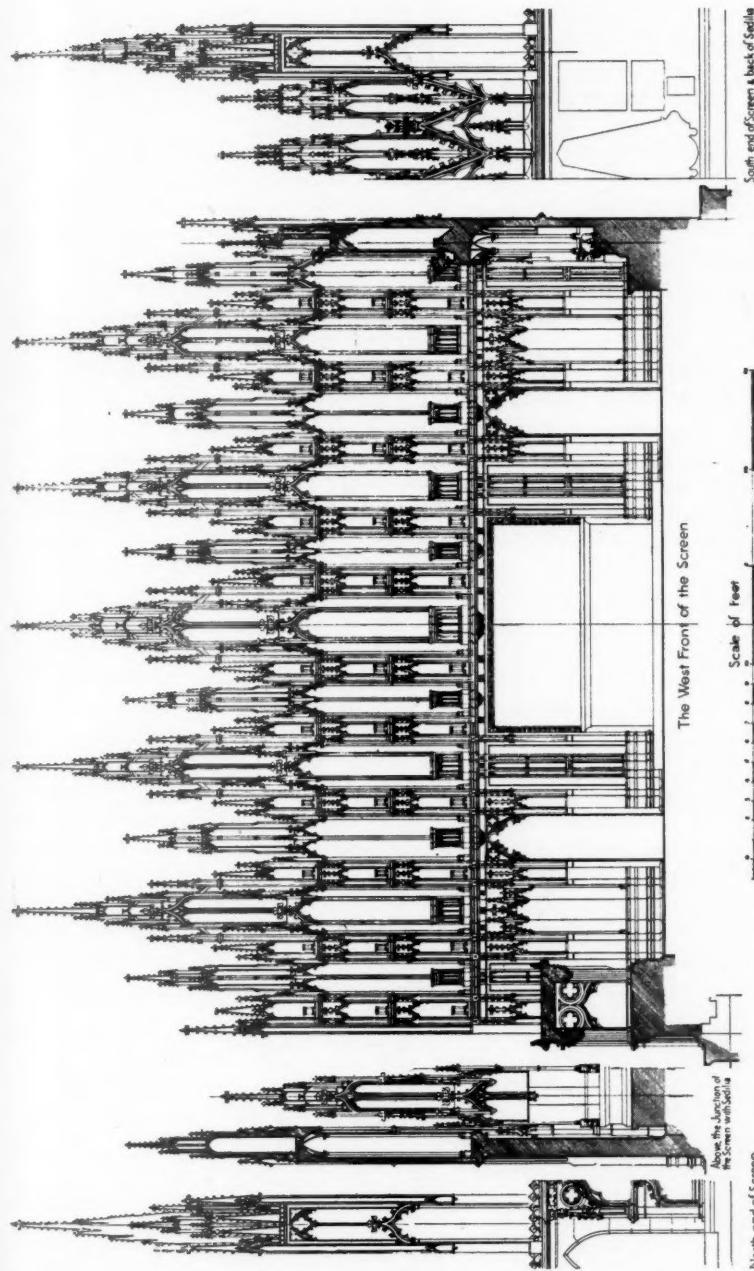


FIG. 4. Conjectural Drawing of the Fourteenth-Century Altar-Screen

was cleaned in 1389-90,¹ and 'Tancret, payntour', was paid for painting the images of St. Mary, St. Peter, and St. Paul at the high altar in 1452-3.² The D. and C. Act Book refers to the pyx of St. Peter 'at the horn of the high altar'.³

Of the identity of the other images in the screen little is known, but there is an entry in the 1506 inventory of silver-gilt crowns 'super capita ymaginum beate Marie et Filius ejus . . . in frontispicio magni Altaris';⁴ and payment of 2*s.* 2*d.* for 'sheets of metal for the lilies' is noted in the 1321-2 Altar Roll.

Half of the Purbeck marble altar slab is still in use in St. Gabriel's chapel, but it is much mutilated and is said to have been used by Hoker for his spurious Leofric monument.⁵ The slab was cast aside when the monument was removed in 1885 and subsequently recovered. The centre and one of the end crosses survive, and from these it was possible to determine the original dimensions of the altar—about 11 ft. in length by 3 ft. 9 in. in width. There is, of course, the possibility that this slab was a replacement of Mary's reign; but, even so, the size is unlikely to have been altered.

Many different opinions have been expressed about the silver tabula mentioned in the Altar Rolls: Oliver describes it as a silver altar,⁶ but we know that the altar had several frontals, and it is improbable that these would have been provided to cover up such an important feature as a silver altar. Leland writes of it: 'Bishop Stapledon made also the Riche Front of Stone Worke at the High Altare in the Cathedrale Church of Excester: and also made the Riche Silver Table in the Middle of it.'⁷ This position is consistent with a reference in the 1327 inventory, to 'Three crosses newly gilt and enamelled [?] (emalate), of which one is with the silver tabula at the back of (*ultra*) the great altar'.⁸ Professor Lethaby was definite upon the point: 'The table must have been a silver retable . . . and as this was something different from the frontal, which is mentioned separately, it implies a space similar to a recess in the Winchester reredos before it was restored'.⁹ At Canterbury a 'silver table' which stood upon the high altar was the subject of correspondence with the Privy Council in 1547,¹⁰ and illustrations of retables, such as we suppose

¹ *Hist. Cathedral Church, Exeter*, Britton, note, p. 98.

² F.R. (W. H. St. J. H.).

³ *Abstract Chapter Acts* (ed. Reynolds), p. 88. The offerings for four days in Whitsun week, 1524, amounted to 3*d.*; of which the chapter clerk had 1*d.*, and the minor officials 'fractions of the same'. ⁴ *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Oliver, p. 322.

⁵ *Devonshire Association, Transactions*, xix, 676.

⁶ *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Oliver, p. 209.

⁷ Leland's *Itinerary*, vol. iii, p. 66.

⁸ 'Tres crucis nove deaurate et emalate, quarum una est cum tabula argenti ultra magnum altare' (*Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Oliver, p. 311).

⁹ 'How Exeter Cathedral was Built' (*Architectural Review*, xiii, pp. 114-15).

¹⁰ *Privy Council Acts*, N.S., 1542-7, p. 539.

the Exeter tabula to have been, but of stone or alabaster, are to be seen in Sir W. St. J. Hope's book, *English Altars*. The reredos in Bishop Oldham's chapel gives an idea of the type of tabula we have in mind; but of beaten silver instead of stone and, therefore, not in such high relief.

Above the high altar hung the golden pyx, under a silver-gilt canopy.¹ From the Fabric Roll we learn that in 1377-8, 7d. was paid 'for a cord containing 40 fathoms, 240 feet, pro columba ultra sumnum altare, in which dove the hosts reserved for the sick were kept'; and 'Peter painter' was paid 40s. 'for the dove and images annexed to it'.² The images were angels, as is shown by the 1412-13 roll. In subsequent years frequent payments were made for repairing the dove and renewing the cords. In 1418-19 iron crooks were made for hanging the pyx; and in 1479-80 there were charges for 'potations' given to the men working on the *retraccionem* (?) of the dove³ (? gear for raising and lowering). In the *Report of the Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiastical Society* there is an illustration of a hanging pyx with dove, but of later date.⁴

The Fabric Roll, 1312-13, records preparations for hanging a corona in the quire: this may have been one of the silver candelabra mentioned in the 1506 inventory,⁵ or a silver pelvis hung by a silver chain, of which several are mentioned; among them one before the high altar, another between the quire step and the altar, and a third at the quire step, as shown by the inventory.⁶ In the Fabric Rolls these pelves are sometimes described as *coronae*. We also read of an iron patella (lamp) fixed round the high altar, in 1319-20.⁷ At Durham we are told: 'Before the Dissolution there were hung in front of the high altar three silver basins containing wax candles "which did burn continually both day and night, in token that this house was always watching to God".'⁸

Both oil and wax were used as illuminants in the Exeter fittings: e.g. the pelvis hanging at the quire step is described as 'pro cero [sic] supportando'⁹ and the making of candles for it—'pro factura xxij cieries pro pelve ad gradum Quire xijd.'¹⁰ is mentioned. The lamps before the rood burnt oil, as we learn from an entry in the D. and C. Act Book: '3 lagens [gallons], 1 potell [2 quarts] oil, bought for lamps

¹ 'i pixis auri cooperati pendens super magnum altare pro Corpore Dominico intus per vando [sic], ponderis 3 uncias et dimidium quarterii' (*Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Oliver, p. 320). ² 'i capa argentea et deaurata pro dicta pixida coöperienda, ponderis 26 unc.' (*ibid.*). ³ F.R. (O., p. 385). ⁴ F.R. (W. H. St. J. H.).

⁴ *Op. cit.*, iii, 197. 'Practical Considerations on the Gothic or English Altar and certain Dependent Ornamenta', J. N. Comper.

⁵ *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Oliver, p. 323.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

⁸ *Durham Cathedral*, Greenwell, p. 63.

⁹ *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Oliver, p. 324.

¹⁰ F.R., 1505-6 (W. H. St. J. H.).

⁷ F.R. (W. H. St. J. H.).

before the cross in the nave 3s. 6d.¹ These lamps probably had wicks floating in bowls of oil. Several purchases of wax are recorded: '20 lbs. wax for high-altar, 10s. 5d.'; 'making candles, 20d.'; '19 lbs. wax for high-altar; 2 lbs. rosin, 10d. for making candles';² 'Making two torches for great altar, 18 lbs. each, with rosin and lead, 20d.'³

On the principal festivals the frontal of the high altar was of hand-worked gold, with the figure of Our Lady in the centre and numerous other figures and, at the ends, Grandisson's arms.⁴ Another frontal, the gift of Grandisson, was of white satin with five figures of bishops and eight coats of his arms worked on it. The super frontal was cloth of gold with figures of lions and eleven coats of arms.⁵ A frontal, given by Stapledon, was of ruby satin with fifteen figures worked in gold and twenty-eight coats of arms of various bishops.⁶ Another, given in memory of Stapledon, had figures of the Holy Trinity and the twelve Apostles worked on it.⁷

For the lateral altars there were frontals of azure satin with representations of the Crucifixion and St. John and Our Lady in the centre and numerous golden stars;⁸ and another, of the same colour, with the figures of St. Edmund and St. Thomas of Canterbury, in gold, and several golden stars worked on it. The super frontals were of cloth of gold.⁹ Numerous other frontals are mentioned in the inventory.

Under the heading 'Carpet et panni coram alteri sternendi' we find a carpet given by Bishop Neville (1458–65), and another, of checky work, the gift of Lady Elizabeth Courtenay.¹⁰ Tapestry, given by the execu-

¹ *Abstract Chapter Acts* (ed. Reynolds), p. 56 (1388).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 58 (1398).

⁴ 'I fronta cum frontella cum tuello eidem annexo de manuali opere aureo unius secte, cum Ymagine beate Marie in medio dicti frontis ac diversis aliis ymaginibus, cum armis Johannis de Grandisso in utroque fine, pro summo altare in festis principalibus' (*Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Oliver, pp. 325–6; 1906 inventory).

⁵ 'I fronta de albo satino pro eodem altari, operata cum quinque ymaginibus episcoporum ac octo armis predicti Johannis de Grandisso, ex dono ejusdem' (*ibid.*, p. 326). 'I frontella de panno aureo operata cum leonibus et undecim armis predicti Johannis de Grandisso, cum tuello eidem annexo' (*ibid.*).

⁶ 'I fronta de rubio satino operata cum quindecim diversis ymaginibus aureis et 28 armis diversorum Dominorum, ex dono Walteri Stapledon' (*Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Oliver, pp. 325–6).

⁷ 'Unum frontale rubrum cum ymaginibus Sancte Trinitatis et 12 Apostolorum, pro memorali Domini Walteri de Stapledon, nuper Exoniensis Episcopi, pro magno altari' (*ibid.*, p. 318; 1327 inventory).

⁸ 'I fronta de blodio satino cum crucifixo, Maria et Johnanne de auro in medio, operata cum diversis stellis aureis, et I frontella de panno aureo eidem annexa, cum I tuello simili annexo' (*ibid.*, p. 330; 1506 inventory).

⁹ 'I fronta de blodio satino cum ymaginibus Sanctorum Edmundi et Thome Cantuariensis de auro, operata cum diversis stellis aureis, et I frontella de panno aureo cum tuella eidem annexo' (*ibid.*, p. 330; 1506 inventory).

¹⁰ 'I carpet, continens in longitudine 3 virgas quarteria et in latitudine i virga dimidium, ex dono Domine Elizabeth Courtenay, operis checky' (*ibid.*, p. 328).

tors of Bishop Lacey, displayed the history of the Duke of Burgundy.¹ Three blue cloths, the gift of Grandisson, with white roses and his coat of arms worked on them, were used for covering the altar-screen (*frontispicio magni altaris*) during Lent.²

Two Lenten cloths (*vocati le Lent cloth*) are mentioned under the heading *panni quadragesimales*: they had texts at the top.³

The inventory also mentions a gilt copper *pila* for warming the hands of the celebrant at the high altar.⁴

We shall probably not go far wrong if we visualize a screen with the lower part, or basement, a solid wall up to the level of the main string-course; above this, a light open screen with statuary in canopied niches capped with spires of clustered pinnacles—something in effect like a lace veil. Above the high altar was the silver tabula; and on either side of it, doors leading to the sacristy. North and south of the doors were the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul. The basement terminated in a deep plinth. The screen would have been carried to the height of the east window sill,⁵ but at either end the length of the pinnacles was limited by the arches of the chancel arcade overhead.

The criticism is sometimes heard that Stapledon's screen must have hidden the view of the 'Exeter pillar' and the arches which spring from it; but there are good grounds for the belief that the prototype of our sixteen shafted piers was to be found at Old St. Paul's some time before it was produced here.⁶ Apart from this, it was not the intention of the builders that the pier should be a dominant object visible from the quire. The reason probably was that a central pier as a focal point, growing as it were out of the middle of the altar, would tend to produce an uncomfortable feeling of emphasis in the wrong place. A central arch would have been a very different matter, but might have raised questions of scale and other considerations. However, this merely expresses a personal opinion.

A conjectural drawing of the screen, founded upon the evidence reviewed in the preceding pages, is shown in figure 4. It is intended to be suggestive, and makes no claim to originality; nor would this be permissible on an occasion when plagiarism may be deemed a virtue. The detail is based on the Exeter sedilia, and retains the triangular form of the niches, whilst the grouping follows that of the east front

¹ 'I pannus de Arys de historia Ducas Burgundie, continens in longitudine 10 virgas dimidium et in latitudine 4 virgas, ex dono executorum Edmundi Lacey' (*Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Oliver, p. 328).

² '3 panni blodii cum roseis albis et armis Domini Johannis de G., pro frontispicio magni altaris tempore Quadragesimali cooperiendo, de dono ejusdem' (*ibid.*).

³ 'Duo panni vocati le "Lent cloth" [sic] unius sortis cum scriptura in summitate, "Querite dominum dum", &c.' (*ibid.*, p. 350).

⁴ '1 pila cuprea deaurata pro summo altari ad manus celebrantis calificandas' (*ibid.*, p. 323).

⁵ *The Cathedral Churches of England*, Hamilton Thompson, p. 59.

⁶ 'Old St. Paul's and Exeter' (H.E.B.), *Cathedral Bulletin*, October 1937, p. 9.

of the Durham altar-screen. It will be asked why the Durham screen was chosen for the purpose. The connexion is slender, but the conditions were not unlike. It is recorded that some years ago the Bishop of Durham, during a visit to Exeter Cathedral, was impressed by the similarity of the sedilia to the Durham altar-screen.¹ The Fabric Roll (1323-4) shows that an 'ymaginator' from London was paid for carving images here—'in solutione facta ymaginatori de Londinia pro ymaginibus tallianidis'.² These images were for the pulpitum, and the sculptor belonged to the famous school of London image-makers, which Lethaby regarded as 'doubtless the finest school of sculptors in the country'.³ The transaction is recorded in an old document at Westminster Abbey. The Durham screen was made in London and taken by water to Newcastle-on-Tyne;⁴ and although it is about fifty years later in date than the Exeter screen, it is possible that descendants or apprentices of the man engaged at Exeter may have worked on it, and the Exeter screen may have influenced the design. Drawings of the Durham screen appear in Carter's survey of that cathedral,⁵ but he illustrates the eastern face only. A drawing of the western face can be seen in Billings's book.⁶

The plinth moulding in our drawing follows that found on the face of Stapledon's tomb (p. 126); the small buttresses were suggested by the set-off found in the eye of the quatrefoil at the east end of the tomb (p. 128); the doors are mentioned in the Fabric Rolls, and the large niches on either side of them are for the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul. The size of the altar was derived from the remains of the altar slab in St. Gabriel's chapel (p. 142); the space over it is for the silver tabula (p. 142). The height of the main string-course was fixed in relation to the pedestals at the east end of the sedilia (p. 136), and the junction of the screen with the sedilia follows the evidence afforded by the broken pinnacle shaft (p. 136). The height of the enclosing walls of the sacristy was determined by the marks of the vine-leaf cresting above Stapledon's tomb (p. 129); and, with the cornice below, is a continuation of the cornice on the north side of the tomb. This was found to line within about an inch with the string-course on the back of the sedilia, which has been reworked and slightly lowered (p. 135). The number of niches for statues corresponds with the number of images—fifty-four—mentioned in the Altar Roll.

But a drawing of the screen without its statuary and colour cannot convey an adequate impression of the effect: we must visualize a screen and presbytery aglow with colour;⁷ stately hangings and

¹ *The Building of Exeter Cathedral*, Bishop and Prideaux, p. 68.

² F.R. (W. H. St. J. H.).

³ 'How Exeter Cathedral was Built', Lethaby (*Architectural Review*, xiii, p. 176).

⁴ *Durham Cathedral*, Greenwell, p. 61.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pl. ix.

⁶ *Cathedral Church of Durham*.

⁷ In medieval times colour was applied heraldically; primary colours being separated

carpets toned in harmony, and the vestments of the clergy scintillating with every movement. All these, suffused by the many-hued light from the windows, must have been a memorable and impressive sight when the high altar was dedicated by Bishop Grandisson on 18th December 1328:

'Memorandum quod, Die Dominica proxima post Festum Sancte Lucie, Virginis, videlicet xv^o Kalendas Januarii [18 Dec.] Dominus dedicavit Majus Altare in Choro Ecclesie Cathedralis Exonie, in honore Beattissime Dei Genetricis atque semper Virginis Marie, et Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli; quibus, eciam, curam et custodiam ejusdem Altaris commendavit, Indulgenciam xl dierum astantibus et in gracia existentibus concedendo.'¹

by metal—gold or silver—or a black line, the appearance of mingling colours, which otherwise would have resulted from their juxtaposition, being thus avoided.

¹ *Episcopal Registers* (ed. H.-R.), Grandisson, vol. i, p. 435.

T-shaped Corn-drying Ovens in Roman Britain

By R. G. GOODCHILD

THE T-shaped furnace or oven is already a familiar feature of Romano-British archaeology. Whether among the huts and pits of Woodcuts, the more substantial dwellings of Silchester and Caerwent, or the farmsteads of the rural areas, this type of oven occurs with such frequency that its place in Romano-British economic life must have been an important one.

It is not proposed to discuss here at length the function of these furnaces. This problem was resolved beyond any measure of doubt when the Romano-British villa was excavated at Hambleden, Bucks., in 1912, and Professor Gowland, in an Appendix to the excavators' report, stated that 'In my opinion they are flues of drying floors which have been used for drying harvested grain.'¹ The evidence from sites elsewhere (as at Caerwent and at King's Worthy, Hants, at both of which sites charred wheat was recovered from the flues of the ovens) has provided strong corroboration of Professor Gowland's hypothesis, and it is only surprising to find that the unmistakable corn-drying ovens of Woodcuts village were still classed as 'hypocausts' in the 1931 edition of Professor Collingwood's *Archaeology of Roman Britain*.²

The main interest of the Hambleden discoveries lies, however, in the great variety of types of ovens excavated, for in all no less than fourteen specimens were unearthed, ranging from the simple and basic T-shaped type to structures of considerable elaboration. Such a variety of types on one single site demands some explanation, and it is not inconceivable that the Hambleden villa was something in the nature of an experimental station.

The more complex types of oven which we meet at Hambleden are also to be found on a few other sites. At Highdown Hill, Sussex, for example, excavations in 1938 brought to light what is best described as a Double-T type oven. This structure, which was in a good state of preservation so far as its subterraneous levels are concerned, is described by its excavators as a 'Hot Room', and it must be admitted that detached portions of wall-plaster were found in the flues, but its plan, and its isolated position not far from an already existing Roman

¹ A. H. Cocks, 'A Romano-British Homestead in the Hambleden Valley, Bucks', *Archaeologia*, lxxi (1920-1), see Appendix I. It is interesting to note that the late Professor Haverfield quoted Professor Gowland's opinions in his note on Romano-British discoveries in 1912-13 contributed to the German *Archaeologischen Anzeiger*, 1913 (p. 286), and at the same time referred to similar discoveries made at Casterley, Wilts., and Rockbourne, Hants. Had the outbreak of the Great War not caused the postponement of publication of Professor Gowland's detailed analysis until 1920, it is probable that the notion that the T-shaped furnaces were hypocausts would have been rejected at a much earlier date.

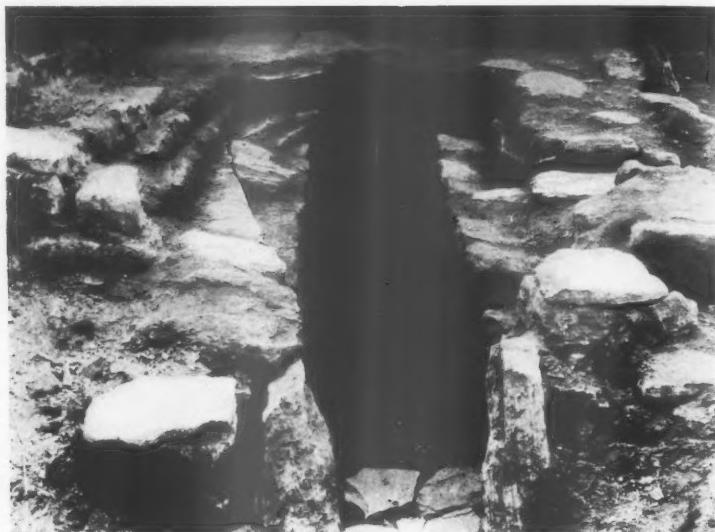
² R. G. Collingwood, *Archaeology of Roman Britain*, 1930, p. 154.

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a. Roman villa at Atworth, Wilts. Fourth-century corn-drying oven in Room 2.
View of main flue, looking east from stoking-pit



b. Roman villa at Atworth, Wilts. Fourth-century corn-drying oven in Room 10.
The apsed *caldarium* hypocaust, in foreground, served as stoking-pit for the main
flue. The ranging-pole stands in one arm of the cross-flue

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CORN-DRYING OVENS IN ROMAN BRITAIN 149

bath-house, makes it far more probable that it was constructed for corn-drying.¹

Yet the simple T-shaped oven seems to have prevailed, and its distribution in the south-east of Britain is wide. A list of the recognized examples is appended on another page (Appendix I), and their occurrence in towns, villages, and villas alike provides an interesting case of a feature common to these three very different economic units; further research and excavation will doubtless add considerably to the tally.

In most instances these T-shaped ovens have been found in a somewhat denuded state, and where intact, sufficient detail has not been published by their excavators to throw much light on their arrangements. Though basically similar to the updraught ovens used for the baking of tiles and pottery,² these ovens must have had different arrangements for the transmission of heat from flue to oven floor. For, in the normal Roman tile-kilns, as used throughout the Western Provinces, the heat generated in the main flue passed through holes in the upper floor of the oven and subjected the tiles to an intense concentration of heat which only too frequently resulted in the lowest tier of stacked tiles being twisted and scorched. Moreover, the fires were kept banked up throughout the operation, so as to ensure the requisite amount of heat. This system obviously could not have been applied to the drying of grain, even assuming that the fire kindled in the furnace was kept to moderate limits. As pointed out by Mr. Philip Corder in his description of a very different type of oven at Elmswell, E. Yorkshire, 'the corn was dried or parched rather than roasted'.³ Even if the fire had been raked out before the corn was put on the drying-floor, the system would still have remained unsatisfactory, since this type of oven does not appear to have had any heat-absorbing superstructure, and the heat would only have been retained for a very inadequate period.

The solution to this problem is happily provided by one of two T-shaped ovens discovered in the Roman villa at Atworth, Wilts., during the excavations of 1938.⁴ In room 2 of this villa a very well-preserved oven came to light, built into the north-east corner of the

¹ *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, lxxx (1939), 80, fig. xi.

² The elaborate tile-kilns of the Legionary factory at Holt, Denbighshire, are fully described by Mr. W. Grimes in *Y Cymroddor*, xli, 1-235. Two Surrey examples of the kilns used for civilian supplies of tiles are described in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, xlvi, 74 seq.

³ Philip Corder, *Excavations at Elmswell, East Yorkshire, 1938* (Hull, 1940), p. 13, footnote.

⁴ The excavations at Atworth were interrupted by the crisis of September 1938. Details of what had been found up to that date are given in a paper 'The Roman Villa at Atworth, Wilts.' by A. Shaw Mellor and Richard Goodchild, in *Wilts. Archaeological Magazine*, xlix, 46-95. A preliminary note on the T-shaped ovens was included as Appendix II (p. 93).

room. Not only had the flue-walls survived to their full original height, but a certain amount of the superstructure still remained. (See photograph, pl. xxvii *a* and plan, fig. 1.) We find in this oven (and there is no reason to doubt it is representative of the entire class) that the furnace was covered not by one single stone floor but by two. Though

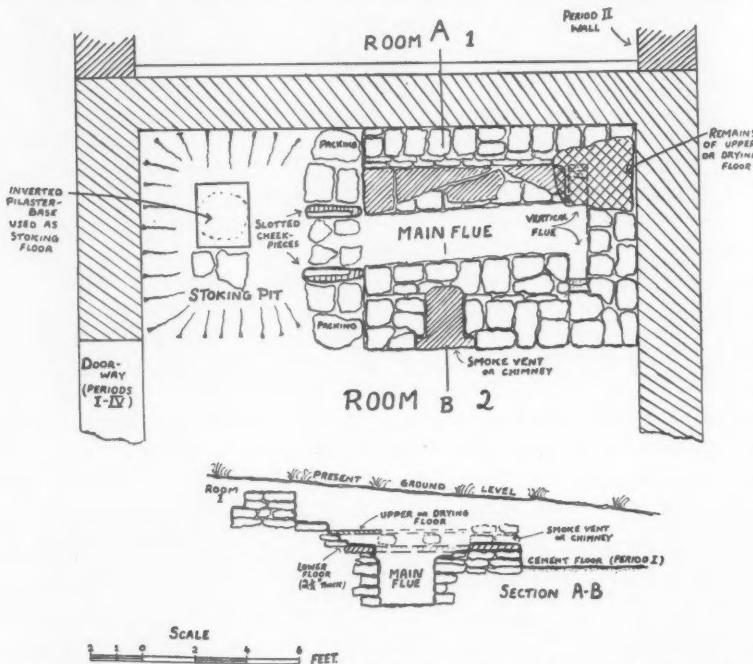


FIG. 1. T-shaped Corn-Drying Oven in Room 2, Roman Villa at Atworth, Wilts.

both these floors had collapsed in this Atworth oven, sufficient remained to show their levels, and to prove that a space 6 inches high had been left between the two floors: moreover, the lower floor was not continued up to the back wall of the oven as was of the upper floor, but terminated, so as to allow the vertical flue from the furnace (i.e. the cross-arm of the 'T') to enter the 6 in. space between the two floors. It is thus obvious that the smoke from the furnace, instead of penetrating through the oven floor itself, as in updraught tile and pottery kilns, was confined between the two floors. Yet it had to escape somewhere, if the necessary draught was to be maintained, and we find provision for its escape made by means of a small channel cut in the side of the oven between the two floors. This allowed the smoke to rise clear of the drying-floor and its contents, which were probably screened by a wooden superstructure.

The advantages of this method were obviously twofold: first, the

smoke from the furnace was given no opportunity of sooting the drying grain; second, and even more important, the grain did not lie on a floor that was immediately in contact with the furnace, and was not therefore subject to scorching. The 6 in. gap between the two floors, with the smoke that passed through it, imparted to the upper floor just sufficient heat to dry the corn and no more.

It is also interesting to note that the draught through the furnace could be regulated to a nicety by means of two adjustable flues, one at the stoke-hole end of the main flue, and one at the chimney outlet on the side of the oven: this is proved by slots cut in the two large stones which flank the entrance to the main flue, and by recesses, like door-jambs, formed in the chimney-piece.

The contexts of the two Atworth ovens are no less interesting than the details of the arrangements of the one oven described above; for whereas the latter unobtrusively occupied a corner of a large compartment in the non-residential wing of the villa, its fellow had been inserted into the hypocaust of one of the apse-ended *caldaria* of the period III bath-suite (pl. xxvii b). Both ovens belonged to the fourth period of the villa's history, which could not be dated closer than to the fourth century A.D., and probably to the latter half of it; and the fact that one-half of the bath-suite had been given over to corn-drying whilst the remainder of the baths appeared to have retained their former function shows how important a feature of economic life the drying of corn had become in the fourth century.

Evidence from other sites is confirmatory of this fact. At Brading in the Isle of Wight we find one of the two 'T-shaped' ovens cut through the mosaic floor of the main corridor of the dwelling-house, which mutilation can hardly have taken place earlier than the fourth century. (For references to the bibliography of this and the other quoted sites, see Appendix.) An example at Silchester occupied a compartment which had to be partially demolished to receive it, and another oven at Caerwent is awkwardly wedged into the colonnade of a dwelling-house.

Equally consistent is the evidence of date. The examples we have already quoted all appear to be later than the buildings they occupy, and at Caerwent a coin of Constantine and fourth-century pottery were found in the flue of the oven. Similarly, at King's Norton, Hampshire, the oven occupied a room which was built partly of reused material, and fourth-century use was proved by Constantinian coins and New Forest potsherds.

It would indeed seem from this evidence that the use of the 'T-shaped' ovens was confined exclusively to the fourth century and later; for though the positive evidence is not overwhelming, the negative fact remains that to the best of the writer's knowledge no oven of this type has yet been found in a first- or second-century context.

Is it too much to conclude that the ovens seem to bear the stamp of

official encouragement, and that their consistency of date and the ruthless manner in which they have been inserted into existing dwellings suggests a deliberate policy initiated by the central government? It is at least an interesting possibility, and one which the student of the economic history of the later Roman Empire may well be able to correlate with recorded events. Whatever the answer to the problem, it is certain at least that 'T-shaped' corn-drying ovens will repay detailed study.

APPENDIX

Romano-British sites on which T-shaped Corn-drying Ovens have been found

Note. This list does not claim to be exhaustive, more urgent matters having claimed the writer's attention during the years since the discoveries at Atworth first drew his attention to the subject. The list does, however, show clearly that these ovens occur in towns, villages, and villas, without apparent predominance in any one type of site.

A. TOWNS

Silchester. Insula XXXIII, block III (1903-4 Report). (*Archaeologia*, lix, 336, fig. 1.).

A rectangular building of three rooms was 'subsequently destroyed, and across one corner was built a large T-shaped furnace of somewhat unusual plan'.

Dimensions: *Main flue*: length, 12 ft., width, 28½ in.

Cross flue: length, 9 ft., width, 6-8 in.

This is the only recorded example from Silchester, though many mutilated flues of uncertain type came to light throughout the site.

Caerwent. 1. House XIII, room 4 (1904 Report). (*Archaeologia*, lix, 308.)

A large T-shaped furnace lined and roofed with sandstone slabs, 4-6 in. thick.

Dimensions: *Main flue*: length, 6 ft. 8 in., width, 2 ft.

Cross flue: length, 3 ft., width, 12-16 in.

Note: in samples of the earth from the flues examined by Mr. Clement Reid, carbonized tares and wheat were recognized. A coin of Constantine was found down at this level and a part of a small pot of red ware with incised ornamentation. The house overlay an earlier building.

Caerwent. 2. House XIII N, room 6 (1905 Report). (*Archaeologia*, lx, 124.)

'At a later date . . . a T-furnace resembling that found in House no. XIII . . . was introduced into room 6 to the north of the line of columns.'

The main flue seems to have been 10 ft. long.

B. VILLAS

King's Worthy, Hants. In a villa at Woodham's Farm one room 'built partly of re-used material' contained a 'T-shaped hypocaust', 2 ft. wide, covered with flanged tiles, and with a furnace and fuel bunker on its south side. The flue contained ashes with plenty of charred grains, 'identified by Prof. John Percival of University College, Reading, as wheat of the usual

Romano-British type'. Constantinian coins and New Forest potsherds proved occupation in the fourth century. (*J.R.S.* xv (1925), 243.)

Brading, I.O.W. 1. In the Roman villa at Brading, one T-shaped flue, called by its excavators a 'subway', was found cut through the mosaic floor of the villa corridor (room VI). (J. E. Price and F. G. Hilton Price, *Roman Buildings at Morton, near Brading, I. of W.*, 10-11.)

Brading, I.O.W. 2. A second example, similar in all respects, was found within the area of the basilican outbuilding (*op. cit.*, 30-31).

Atworth, Wilts. Two examples were found in the Roman villa, both inserted in the fourth period into previously existing apartments, in one case a caldarium of the baths being used. (*Wilts. Arch. Magazine*, xlvi, 93.) See above for further details.

Yewden, Hambleden, Bucks. T-shaped ovens were among the fourteen ovens found on this villa site. (*Archaeologia*, lxxi (1920-1), 141-198.)

C. VILLAGES

Woodcuts, Dorset. Four furnaces were found within the area of this Romano-British village, three of which (numbered 2-4) were of the normal T plan. They were interpreted by General Pitt-Rivers as 'hypocausts'. (Pitt-Rivers, *Cranbourne Chase*, vol. i (1881), pl. vi.)

Casterley, Wilts. One T-shaped furnace was found in this native village site in 1912, cut into the side of a boundary ditch, which also served as the stoke-hole. (*Wilts. Arch. Magazine*, xxxviii, 73-4.)

Rockbourne Down, Hants. One normal T-shaped furnace was found on this site, which Professor Collingwood describes as an 'isolated farm' rather than a native village. Two other furnaces on the same site were more elaborate, and conformed to the double-T type, as at Highdown Hill, Sussex. (Heywood Sumner, *Excavations on Rockbourne Down*, 1914, 23-4.)

Thundersbarrow Hill, Sussex. Two T-shaped furnaces were found on this native village site. (*Antiquaries Journal*, xiii, 121-5.)

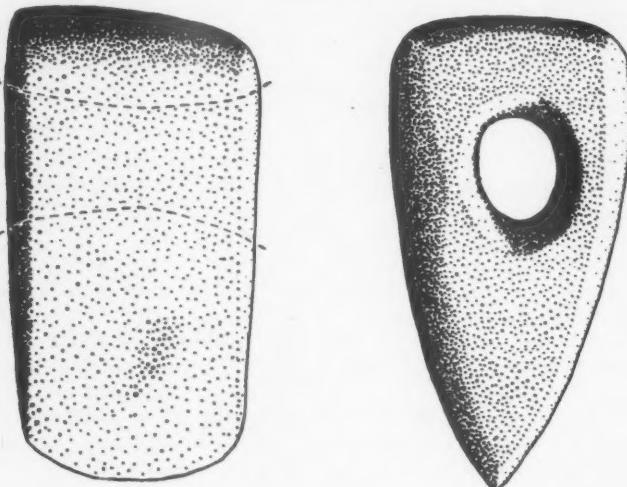
Yorkshire Wolds. Mr. Corder in his account of the native village at Elmswell, E. Yorks., refers to T-shaped furnaces as having been found in the Wolds on two sites at Langtoft and Etton. (*Excavations at Elmswell, 1938*, 14.) These ovens were recorded by Mortimer in his *Forty Years Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds in East Yorks.*, 341-3.

Note: the examples quoted above are all of the basic single-T type of furnace, and the inclusion of the simpler single-flue ovens which may often have been used for the same purpose would necessitate doubling or quadrupling this list. There are similarly a considerable number of the double-T ovens, which have been briefly mentioned above, and of other types obviously derived from the same basic type. There is an urgent need at the moment for a classification of ovens by form and purpose (where this is known), on the lines of Mr. Grimes's excellent classification of tile and pottery kilns already published in the report on the excavations at Holt, Denbighshire (*Y Cymroddor*, xli).

Notes

Axe-hammer from Loddon, Norfolk.—Mr. S. S. Frere reports that the axe-hammer illustrated below was recently recovered by Major J. Sellick, R.E., by the kindness of whom and Mr. E. L. Sellick it has been presented to Norwich Castle Museum. It was being used as a door-stop in an army hut near Langley Park, Loddon, Norfolk, and its primary associations are not now known.

It is of a hard-grained brown stone, identified by Dr. J. Phemister as basalt;



Axe-hammer from Loddon, Norfolk (1)

it measures approximately 5½ in. long, 3 in. deep, and 2·8 in. wide at the butt, and has an oval hour-glass perforation. Its weight is approximately 2 lb. 14½ oz.

By the kindness of Dr. K. P. Oakley, the implement was examined at the Geological Museum, and a small section cut. Dr. Phemister's report is as follows:

'The axe-head found at Loddon, Norfolk, is composed of basalt in which there is abundance of the pyroxene pigeonite and a small amount of interstitial quartz. The axe-head R 2653/1938 from Schleswig-Holstein lent by Mr. Lacaille of the Wellcome Research Institute is composed of basalt of the same type. Though there are differences between the two rocks (no quartz is visible in R 2653/1938, and the pyroxene in this rock seems to be entirely pigeonite), I think they are varieties which are likely to be found in close association in a natural occurrence.'

'In specimen R 2653/1938 the cut shows well the weathered crust of the implement. In thin section this crust is mineralogically similar to the heart of the material, but limonitic decomposition products have permeated the pyroxene and penetrated along the cleavages of the feldspar.'

It would thus appear that the affinities of the Loddon axe-hammer lie across the North Sea, and that it is an import, possibly from Scandinavia ultimately.¹

¹ For a similar Norfolk find with suggested Scandinavian origin see *Antiq. Journ.* iii, 369, from Horning.



Roman lead cistern, Pulborough

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Such implements, while no doubt of the Bronze Age, are difficult to date more closely by themselves. But if this example does originate in Germany or northern Europe, one would incline to a date for it in the Early Bronze Age, when connexions with those regions were especially strong. Such a conclusion, as Miss Chitty suggests, would point to the possibility of placing early in sequence this whole broad square hammer-but^t type, of which the Horning implement is another example. Yarmouth may well have been one of the portals of entry.

Roman Lead Cistern from Pulborough, Sussex.—Dr. E. Cecil Curwen, F.S.A., sends the following note:—During the deepening of drainage ditches in the flood-plain of the river Arun at a spot 500 yards north-west of the Roman buildings at Lickfold, and about 1½ miles south-east of Pulborough,¹ the mechanical excavator recently grabbed a heavy object at a depth of about 6 ft. below the level of the water. This proved to be a large lead vessel or cistern (pl. xxviii), similar to the one from Icklingham described in *Antiq. Journ.* xxii, 219.

Though somewhat torn and compressed by the claws of the excavator it is possible to recover its original shape and approximate dimensions, and as the metal is in an excellent state of preservation it is to be hoped that complete restoration may be possible in due course. The cistern was cylindrical, height about 1 ft. 7 in. and circumference of rim 8 ft., giving an estimated diameter of 2 ft. 6½ in. and a capacity of about 46 gallons. It is constructed of three sheets of cast lead, a circular one for the base, and two rectangular sheets to form the sides, the junctions being secured by soldering. The remains of a piece of iron are embedded in the upper 3 in. of one of the two vertical seams, evidently part of a staple for a ring; the other vertical seam is torn open but shows a slot where a similar iron staple formerly lay.

The outside of the cistern is decorated in relief with straight lines forming a crude cable-pattern. This has been effected by pressing into the clay mould the edge of a piece of wood, about 12½ in. long, incised with oblique notches so as to form 25 teeth, the last of which, owing to uneven spacing of the notches, is about twice as long as the others. The mark made by this elongated tooth recurs again and again in the pattern, and, if it should turn up on other objects of cast lead found elsewhere, would be evidence of common origin in the same workshop. On each side of the cistern are three roughly square panels between two continuous horizontal lines, and each panel contains a saltire. In the central panel on one side, however, the saltire forms part of a Chi-rho monogram, the loop of the Rho being the only part of the whole design which has not been formed by means of the edge of the notched stick. Immediately below the rim is a series of nine small punched holes, irregularly spaced, the intervals between them varying between 6 and nearly 18 in.

The length of the notched stick (12½ in.) has determined the dimensions of the pattern, particularly the interval between the horizontal bands, but it is curious that the height and diameter of the vessel itself should bear simple ratios to this measurement, viz. roughly 1½ : 1 and 2½ : 1 respectively. The diameter resembles those of the similar lead cisterns found at Icklingham (No. 1, below) and at Bourton-on-the-Water (No. 3), and it has been pointed out that of the two cisterns found at the latter site, bearing marks consisting of 5 and 6 roundels respectively, the ratio of their diameters is as 5 is to 6. If there is anything in this

¹ The exact spot will be found on 6-in. O.S., Sussex, XXXVI, SE., at a point 5·3 in. from the left margin and 0·1 in. from the top margin.

observation it would point to the use of a unit or half-unit of about $6\frac{1}{4}$ in., i.e. half of $12\frac{1}{2}$ in.

A date in the fourth century seems most likely, not only because of the Chi-rho symbol, but in view of such associated remains as have been found with or near other similar cisterns.

This appears to be the seventh example of a cylindrical lead cistern recorded as having been found in this country, and the second to bear the early Christian symbol. The following table sets forth the comparative data.

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Diameter (inches)</i>	<i>Height (inches)</i>	<i>Capacity (gallons)</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>References, etc.</i>
1.	Icklingham (Suffolk)	32	13	38	Chi-rho monogram, also Alpha-Omega.	<i>Antiq. Journ.</i> xxii, 219.
2.	Ditto	?	?	?16	Found early 18th cent., now lost. Alpha?	<i>V.C.H. Suffolk</i> , i, 309.
3.	Bourton-on-the-Water (Glos.)	30-4	13½-4	40	Found in building near well.	<i>Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.</i> , lv, 377; lvi, 115. Cheltenham Museum.
4.	Ditto	37-9	16	65		
5.	R. Ouse near Huntingdon	29½	15½	40	..	<i>Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.</i> , lvi, 116-17. Mus. Arch., Cambridge.
6.	Unknown (? near Cambridge)	26½	12½	25	..	
7.	Pulborough (Sussex)	30½	19	46	Chi-rho monogram.	..

Little can be said as regards the purpose or function of these cisterns, and no single theory yet put forward seems to fit all the facts. The two specimens from Bourton-on-the-Water were found close to a well in the remains of a building having a paved court. This suggests a use as water-butts for some utilitarian purpose. The discovery of others in or near the beds of rivers, at some distance from sites of contemporary habitation, is not so easy to explain, for the objects are surely far too heavy to be needlessly moved about, and too valuable to be deliberately thrown away, nor is the medieval farmer likely to have been tempted to move them far from their find-spot for use as cattle-troughs. If they were used as rainwater-butts and intended for a supply of drinking-water, symptoms of lead-poisoning must have been prevalent among those who may have drunk habitually from them. The occurrence of sacred symbols on two, perhaps three, of the known specimens suggests the possibility of a religious use, such as that of a font or baptistry, for, although these symbols may appropriately appear on articles of

personal adornment, they seem scarcely in place on purely utilitarian objects such as water-butts. A situation close to a river would, moreover, be quite suitable for the purpose of baptizing converts to Christianity. The dimensions and capacities of these vessels are too variable to afford any clue to their use, though it is perhaps noteworthy that three out of the seven have a capacity of close upon 40 gallons. This is equivalent to just 7 *amphorae* or *quadrantales* (1 *amphora* = 5·75 gall.), and the capacity of the Pulborough cistern (46 gall.) is exactly 8 *amphorae*. If the remaining specimens took their place in a series of integral values in the same way, we might suppose that this type of lead tank was used for measuring wine in bulk, e.g. the output of a vineyard. Unfortunately they do not conform so neatly, 16, 25, and 65 gallons being equivalent respectively to 2·78, 4·35, and 11·3 *amphorae*.

Our thanks are due to the Hon. Clive Pearson, the owner of the land, for permission to publish, and also to Mr. William Lawson and Mr. H. Hughes, Executive Officer and Assistant Executive Officer, respectively, of the West Sussex War Agricultural Executive Committee, who reported the discovery to the Sussex Archaeological Society in the first instance.

Roman Roads with Small Side Ditches.—Mr. Ivan D. Margary, F.S.A., sends the following note:—In an earlier note¹ attention was drawn to the existence of small shallow ditches spaced at standard distances apart, which appeared at certain points on Roman roads where these were passing over high ground. Several instances were quoted where the ditches averaged 84 ft. apart, which thus appeared to be the standard measurement for first-class roads, and also one instance, the London-Lewes Road on Ashdown Forest, where the measurement was 62 ft. which it was suggested might be a similar standard for secondary roads.

A chance war-time visit to Silchester has now enabled me to add an analogue to this latter class. It is on the Dorchester-Silchester road about a mile north of Silchester, where the road is crossing heath land at Pickling-yard plantation at an altitude of about 300 ft. The ditches are clearly traceable across the level part of the heath for a distance of 550 yds. southwards from the Burghfield Common-Round Oak road and only disappear, as is usual with these small ditches, when the road descends into the valley of a little stream. The space between the ditches is just 62 ft., and the example is in every respect very similar to the road on Ashdown Forest.

The suggestion that 62 ft. is another standard measurement used for secondary roads would thus appear to be fully justified, and further examples may well be looked for.

Further examples of the 84-ft. standard have also come to light. On the Port Way (Old Sarum-Silchester road) there are ditches 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. apart at a point about 7 miles north-east of Old Sarum.² Again, on the Annandale-Clyde Roman road north of Bushel Beck near Moffat³ there is another example which is very clearly shown in plate III A. The photograph shows the ditches and the centrally placed agger very plainly and is a good example of this form of layout. Assuming the agger there to be about 24 ft. wide, the ditches must be just about 80 ft. apart.

Another example comes from the Fosse Way, Camerton, Somerset,⁴ but although a ditch of this character was found at a distance of 14 ft. from the edge

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xix, 53.

² *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* 1936, xlvi, 513.

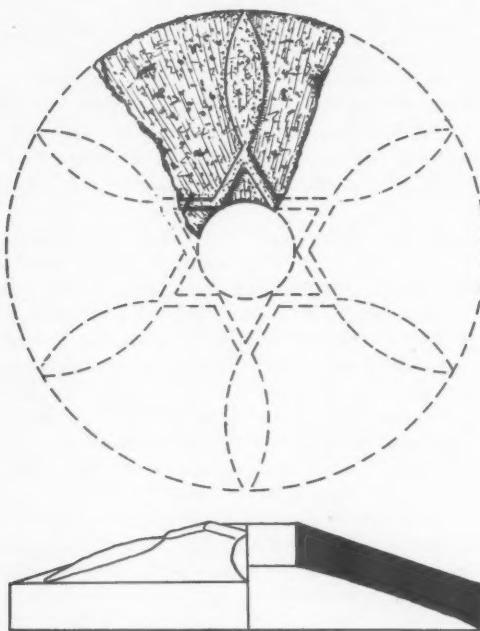
³ *Antiquity*, xiii, 283.

⁴ *Proc. Bath Branch Som. Arch. Soc.*, 1937, 182-4, plate II.

of the metalling, the excavation could not be made on the far side of the road and the spacing has therefore not been determined.

Enough has now been found, however, to show that we have two useful standard measurements, and further examples will doubtless be found. I should be very grateful if workers in other districts would report such cases to me.

A Decorated Lava Quern from Verulamium.—Mr. Philip Corder contributes the following note:—During the autumn of 1938 several narrow A.R.P. trenches



A Decorated Quern from Verulamium ($\frac{1}{10}$)

were dug to the south-east of the Verulamium Museum on either side of the road leading to the Chalet Tea Rooms. No structures were exposed by them, except in the more northerly which cut through the road metalling of the Roman street (see plan, *Antiquity*, June 1941; the site is immediately below the first 'U' of 'Museum'). The digging turned up a fragment of an upper quern-stone of Rhine-land lava, the upper surface of which is decorated in low relief. As this is without parallel in Britain, so far as I know, an illustration is here given. The stone has a diameter of $28\frac{1}{2}$ in. with a central circular hole $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter. It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick at the centre, and from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. at the edges. The design in relief, raised about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. above the tooled upper surface, consists of a hexagonal star outlined as a raised band $\frac{3}{8}$ in. wide, from the points of which radiate pointed spear-shaped leaves, 8 in. long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide. The under surface of the stone is, as usual, radially tooled with grooves $\frac{3}{8}$ in. apart.

Anglian Pagan Cemetery at Ingleby, south Derbyshire.—Mr. W. Fraser communicates the following:—Thomas Bateman, the Derbyshire barrow-digger, describes the opening in 1855 of five burial-mounds in what he terms a ‘tumular cemetery’ near Foremark in south Derbyshire. The location of this cemetery, which is in the parish of Ingleby, was apparently lost sight of for many years. Recently I made a prolonged search, and, with the help of local inhabitants, rediscovered it early in 1941.

The cemetery lies about three-quarters of a mile south of the Trent, on top of the ridge which here dominates the river-valley. Excavation work has been proceeding since the autumn of 1941, but so far only a few mounds have been explored out of a total of over fifty. The mounds (which measure from 28 to 45 ft. in diameter, with an average height of perhaps 42 in.) are difficult to locate, owing to the fact that the entire cemetery appears to be contained within the confines of a heavily timbered plantation with dense undergrowth, which also renders excavation a slow and tedious business.

In the first mound to be excavated a short iron sword-blade, broken and much damaged by fire, was found embedded in a central layer of charcoal, together with a bronze strap-mount of the 6th to 7th century A.D. The finds in the other mounds opened to date have been nil or fragmentary. Not a trace of pottery has yet come to light.

Judging from the evidence furnished by the first mound the method pursued appears to have been the building of a fire on the natural surface of the ground. Upon this fire the body had been burned, and, afterwards, the calcined bones smashed into small pieces. Then a cairn of stones was apparently thrown up over the embers and the whole covered with soil: a primary Saxon cremation in a barrow. It must be said, however, that this procedure, judging from the structure of other mounds opened, seems to have been liable to variation.

The excavation work is being carried out under the auspices of the Burton-on-Trent Archaeological and N.H. Society.

Reviews

The Irish Stone Age: Its Chronology, Development and Relationships. By HALLAM L. MOVIUS, JR., PH.D. 10 X 7½. PP. XXIV + 339. 7 PLATES, 59 TEXT FIGURES. CAMBRIDGE: AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1942. 30s.

None can say that the war years, which are marked by brilliant publications on prehistory, have been without gain to archaeology. The first appeal of the outstanding work which is now added to an imposing list lies in the presentation of the complete earliest history of a country only tardily prepared for man's settlement. But our indebtedness to the author is the greater that his scope is wider than the title of his work implies.

The information comes mainly from littoral sites in the north-eastern counties. The most telling evidences result from excavations by the Harvard Archaeological Expeditions to Ireland, of which Dr. Movius was Assistant Director. With the adjacent mainland the region formed a Mesolithic province, the archaeological possibilities of which on the British side have only been broached. To show how the environment was created to receive the primordial colonists who arrived during the Boreal climatic phase, Dr. Movius has clearly depicted the background dominated by the Pleistocene ice.

With a wealth of detail he demonstrates how the various Pleistocene episodes in Ireland were intimately bound up with those of the mainland. He stresses that in that country, as in much of Britain, the memorials of but two, and relatively late, major glaciations are certainly preserved. The problem of correlating British and Continental ice-movements has a powerful fascination for the geologist and prehistorian. Dr. Movius's efforts have produced well reasoned and clearly tabulated equations. This linking of events has necessitated the synthesizing of a vast bibliography, and constitutes a veritable *tour de force*. For this achievement alone the author is to be warmly congratulated, and we are grateful for a foundation for future work. His use of the term 'Old Drift' for the great glaciation which shrouded Ireland and most of Great Britain, and which assuredly destroyed the records of earlier glaciations, is bound, however, to meet with criticism, especially from those used to apply this designation to earlier Pleistocene events registered in England. Compensation for the lack of a generally acceptable nomenclature is found, however, in the author's use of the key provided by findings in the Creswell Crags. This permits of the correlating of the great glaciation of Ireland and the succeeding 'New Drift' respectively with the first and second Würm maxima of Alpine chronology.

So far neither industrial relics nor organic remains indicate man's presence in Ireland prior to the recorded glaciations, although the mammoth, at least, reached that country by a partial land-bridge during the period of climatic improvement between these advances of the ice. Man, then in the stage of Aurignacian culture, seems not to have trailed the animals beyond the Humber basin and north Wales. With the shrinking of the New Drift ice Upper Palaeolithic culture developed in England as the Creswellian, which spread but little farther on the mainland. The author equates the three main stages of the deglaciation in Britain and Ireland with the triple recession of the Fenno-Scandian ice.

The long-enduring hold of former interpretations of certain raised beaches and forest beds has been the cause of some misunderstanding of the varying relation-

ships between land and sea around north Britain and Ireland during and after the melting of the ice. By the aid of pollen-analysis and the testimony of varved clays Dr. Movius makes it clear what can be accomplished when dating factors are available and modern methods used. Thus, he devotes considerable attention to the early post-glacial land uplift, showing that early in the Boreal period that phenomenon afforded migrating food-gatherers a passage from the mainland to north-eastern Ireland, a region rich in tractable flint.

The equipment of these folk shows that theirs was a decayed Upper Palaeolithic culture, in fact a debased Creswellian. But the transgression of the sea that followed severed communications with the mainland, and compelled our colonists to develop their industries to meet the needs of a changing environment. The earliest artifacts have been found under Late Boreal-Early Atlantic peat and in a secondary position in deposits of the raised beach registering the marine invasion, which is equitable with the Littorina Sea of the Baltic region. A late industrial expression of the local Mesolithic occurs in the upper layers of this beach. Dr. Movius proposes the name *Larnian* for the native culture, because sites at and near Larne have yielded the materials for his illuminating expositions.

The Irish post-glacial raised beach, demonstrably of Atlantic age, has a counterpart on the British side of the North Channel. The author's descriptions of the feature itself, its contents, and associations on both shores, will earn the gratitude of the student. They will deeply interest him and doubtless suggest future inquiries since they show the width of the field. Thus, Dr. Movius discusses the occurrence, in conditions very similar to those in Ulster, of the Larnian facies in stone industries in south-western Scotland, where these include strains which reached coastal localities by land-routes. Tardenoisian technique and forms are now known to have gained the Scottish Atlantic seaboard earlier than was hitherto suspected.¹ These elements and Larnian influence also appear in the Oban hybrid culture which developed after the maximum submergence. Dr. Movius's views on the spread of the Tardenoisian in the North Sea basin in Scotland are perhaps premature since the ground has as yet been insufficiently explored for generalizations to be made at this juncture.

In Ireland the Larnian folk gradually gave way to Neolithic immigrants, whose industries in the early stages of their evolution are admirably reviewed by the author. He emphasizes that Larnian traditions nevertheless persisted, imparting an individualistic character to later Irish stone industries.

Exception can be taken to but few points in this notable thesis, and these chiefly of a minor character and attributable to the references consulted. Thus, Croftamie, stated as near Kilmarnock, Ayrshire (pp. 36 and 269), is actually in Dumbartonshire; and it is doubtful if the reindeer bones recovered there belong to so early a phase as Würm 1 / Würm 2 [cf. M. Macgregor and Jas. Ritchie, *P.R.S.E.* lx, iii (1940), 331]. Unfortunately the map based partly on T. F. Jamieson's [*Q.J.G.S.* xxi (1865), 163] does not show the whole extent of the carse-clays in the Tay and Esk estuaries. The harpoon of Azilian form from Victoria Cave, Settle (p. 189), may not be made in the antler of reindeer but in that of red deer (W. B. Wright, *Tools and the Man*, 1939, 126). Some will dislike 'polleniferous' for the usual 'polliniferous'; and 'Tardenoisean' as a derivative of *Tardenois*, which has no terminal *e*, is not so acceptable as 'Tardenoisian'. On a more serious matter geologists and many prehistorians are sure to comment. The paragraphs devoted by Dr. Movius (pp. 29-30) to ancient Pleistocene raised beaches at low and

¹ *P.S.A.S.*, lxxv (1940-41), 70-71, 91.

approximately uniform level girding England and Ireland have no direct bearing on his main theme, but they may not satisfy those interested in such beaches and pre-glacial platforms. His grouping and ascription of these beaches to the interglacial period preceding the British glaciation that is equatable with Würm 1 demand more evidence than he has adduced in support of his claim (cf. W. B. Wright, *The Quaternary Ice Age*, 1937, 113-25).

Dr. Movius is to be praised for so amplifying his valuable book with appendixes, a copious bibliography, and abundant illustrations and maps. Needless to say, all these enhance the great usefulness of the work. In the production of this most welcome volume the Cambridge University Press is to be congratulated on maintaining its best traditions despite the difficulties of the times. Dr. Movius's book, which must long rank as a standard, will assuredly have the well merited success we wish it.

A. D. L.

Excavations at Deir el Bahri: 1911-1931. By H. E. WINLOCK. 9 x 6. Pp. x + 235, with 96 plates. New York: The Macmillan Company. 30s.

This is a re-edition for the general reader of the short yearly reports on the work done on the temple sites of the Eleventh and Eighteenth Dynasties in the desert valley 'Asasif, north-east of Thebes, by the expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art during the years 1911-14 and 1919-31. It is a good thing that these reports, models of their kind, have been rescued from the oblivion that might have befallen them, to form a continuous record which not only will be invaluable to the Egyptological specialist engaged in research on special periods, but also should be constantly in the hands of those who aspire to undertake similar work. In 1907 Naville, commencing the publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund's excavation of the temple of the Twelfth-Dynasty king Neb-hepet-Ra', felt able to declare: 'We may now say that Deir el Bahari is finished.' The directors of the American expedition, more particularly the author of this book, have shown that it was but begun.

Individuals will inevitably receive different impressions from this new presentation of these reports, and draw varying inferences; but some conclusions, apparently obvious, should be driven home in a way never to be forgotten. Winlock throughout recognized that the problems with which he had to deal were primarily architectural, and that the detection of original intention by trial and error was the first duty, to be carried out with the same rigour as the decipherment of a palimpsest; that may have been realized elsewhere before his time, but not in Egypt. Even a skilled architect will not understand the problems involved in his plans until many years have been passed on such a site. The plans of Walter Hauser, who worked on the temples of Hatshepsut and Neb-hepet-Ra', and the minor works of Thutmose III, between 1919 and 1931 continuously, were the basis of the expedition's most interesting discoveries. The direction of the dig was fortunately in the hands of a man of great imaginative powers, whose imagination was yet so thoroughly disciplined that the mere suggestion of hypothetical explanations never induced him to abandon the quest engaged upon, a man of such single-minded patience that no hasty step ever seems to have interfered with the execution of rigorously scientific routine, even in dealing with material without immediate interest, and a man able to inspire such generous enthusiasm in the Trustees of his Museum that great expenses could be undertaken in pursuit of thoroughness. No dull work, however dull, interfered with accurate observation, weariness

never prevented attention and keen-minded inference. The discoveries of the last twenty-odd years at Deir el Bahri have not been accidental; they are due in exceptional measure to the personal qualities of the author of this book.

The discoveries, varied in kind, sprang from the architectural drawing-board. The investigation of the tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty brought such rewards as the wooden models belonging to Meket-Ra', the burials of the princesses 'Ashyt and Mayt, or the tomb of Sen-Mut. The excavation of a quarry, begun simply to complete a plan, led to the reassembly and restoration of a wonderful series of Hatshepsut figures, parts of which had in two cases reached Europe previously, a series which, since it was carved and destroyed within twenty years, is more instructive than any disquisition. The real core of the work was always the elucidation of the architectural history of the complex of sacred buildings and the connected tombs; the discovery of a deliberate alteration in the plan of the Hatshepsut temple is a contribution to political history, as Winlock has shown (pp. 143-53) in a characteristically imaginative, subtle, and controlled reconstruction of Sen-Mut's story.

Egyptology has become a highly specialized study, and so too has the archaeology of various countries in Western Asia; but the students of the latter know they cannot afford to leave Egyptian matters entirely on one side as Egyptologists in some cases do Western Asia. Perhaps it was a stern resolution not to step off *terra cognita* which has led to a certain failure to show that some matters can no longer be discussed exclusively on Egyptian evidence. The stamped cones, once fantastically thought to be model loaves, are definitely proved to be architectural decoration, and it is suggested (p. 128) that they represent ends of roof-poles—a suggestion prohibited by the similar objects from Babylonia. Though it is true that the gaming boards found in Egypt in the time of the Middle Kingdom are much the same as boards found 'from Palestine as far east as Susa', it is not true that the type 'suddenly . . . disappears forever' (p. 129), everywhere, after the Twelfth Dynasty. The bronze siphon found associated with pots inscribed in Phoenician, intended for 'sucking beer out of a deep jar' (p. 167), has such a long history both in Egypt and in Western Asia that the ingenious explanation offered is not really necessary. Even in dealing with the history of Hatshepsut, no mention is made of one cause for legitimate rage against the queen and her advisers, the rapid deterioration of the Egyptian position in Syria between the death of Thutmose I and Thutmose III's assumption of sovereign power.

The book is not merely a contribution to knowledge. It is a most readable and entertaining account of the labours, hopes, disappointments, and surprises of a digger's life. Its appearance affords a welcome opportunity to express appreciation of the life-work of an excavator who has consistently set standards few have reached and none surpassed. The death of his coadjutor, the 'brilliant photographer' Mr. Harry Burton, in 1940, adds sadness to the foreboding that the Metropolitan Museum's work in Egypt may have ceased 'for a long time to come' (p. viii).

S. S.

The Prehistoric Archaeology of Northwest Africa. By FREDERICK R. WULSIN
(Papers of the Peabody Museum, vol. xix, no. 1). Cambridge, Mass., 1941.
\$3.00.

'Unfortunately', wrote Dr. Leakey in 1936, 'much of what has been published about the Stone Age in French North Africa is in publications which very seldom

are seen in England.' By his attempt to make available to the English-speaking world the important material buried in these inaccessible publications Dr. Wulsin has substantially helped to erase what was really a misfortune. For he has conscientiously searched the relevant literature and judiciously selected excavation reports for summarization.

However, those reports were not only difficult of access; most were written in an extinct archaeological dialect and so have to be translated not only into English but into current technical jargon. They bristle with loosely used terms—Moustierian is the most conspicuously troublesome—that have now acquired new and more precise significations. The descriptions and figures given by the early collectors and excavators do not in themselves suffice for the requisite translation; the only hope would be to find the objects in question and redescribe them or rename them in accordance with contemporary usage. Perhaps that is no longer possible. In any case, Wulsin does not seem to have had the opportunity of tackling so formidable a task. In Chapters II and III, devoted to 'The Lower Palaeolithic Sequence' and 'The Question of Strand Lines', he simply summarizes the observations and deductions of investigators as they gave them without attempting to explain whether they meant, for instance, by 'Moustierian', Levalloisian, Moustierian, or Aterian, or what not contact-culture. Only in Chapter IV, entitled 'Industries and their Variants', does he attempt to correct the confusing picture by explaining modern views as to the several middle palaeolithic cultures, while an appendix offers current equivalents for the bizarre specific names which had been incorporated in the text from excavators who went on the principle *species sunt multiplicandae*. But this discussion does not explain what Moustierian, Chellean, or *Ovis africanus* meant in any specific context in the previous chapters. Nothing is said about cleavers, which were not recognized by early collectors but are common enough in their collections. The ill-fated term 'Sbaïkian' is still applied to late Acheulian hand-axes and to the laurel leaves of the Aterian.

The chapters on the Upper Palaeolithic, the Neolithic, and the Early Historic periods are much clearer. But here the author has generally followed the very accessible works of Vaufrey and Gsell without any sustained effort to bring earlier reports into line (Vaufrey's definitive memoir of 1939 arrived after the relevant chapters had been written, but is mentioned in footnotes). Two well-illustrated chapters are devoted to the Prehistoric Art of South Oran and of Morocco, Eastern Algeria, and the Sahara respectively. Finally Chapter X describes the skeletal remains from the area without, however, the new early fossil from Tangier published in no. xvi. 3 of the same series.

The reviewer gets the impression that the author has mastered effectively the scattered but voluminous literature dealing with his special field, but lacks both the familiarity with the actual finds that could be gained only by prolonged study in the field and in the museums of France and North Africa, and perhaps also the comparative knowledge necessary for a correct appreciation of the facts available. That must be why he missed the cleavers, for instance, and, in reference to the date of Saharan rock-engravings, wrote, 'War chariots were abandoned in the ancient world about the IVth century B.C.', and so dated the relevant pictures to the 'IIIrd century at latest'.

Hence apart from the exhaustive bibliography these 150 pages do not really tell us much more than can be found in two short chapters of the *African Stone Age*, written by an expert who did not perhaps know the literature so well as, nor

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the collections much better than, Wulsin, but who had really mastered modern typological classification and a comprehensive range of comparative material. At the same time, for its modest price the paper does assemble conveniently a mass of data for the student who has the wit to use it profitably. The plates of rock-engravings and paintings will save much consultation of rare and costly tomes, and it would be unjust to complain that more artifacts have not been reproduced from the earlier publications since these were unrepresentative and often unreliable.

V. GORDON CHILDE.

The Personality of Britain: its influence on inhabitant and invader in prehistoric and early historic times. By SIR CYRIL FOX, F.B.A. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$. Pp. 99, 3 col. maps, 12 pls., 40 figs. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales and Press Board of the University of Wales. 4th edition, revised. 1943. 5s.

Since its first issue in 1932 (reviewed in vol. xiii, 1933, 481) the *Personality*, with its magnificent series of distribution maps, has come to take its rightful place as the standard work on the environment of prehistoric and early historic Britain (from 2500 B.C. to A.D. 1000) in relation to human settlements, invasion, and trade. The preparation and publication of this fourth edition, in difficult circumstances, is welcome evidence both of the growing demand for serious archaeological literature and of the sustained interest of the Council of the National Museum of Wales in cultural matters beyond the limits of the principality. Sir Cyril describes the present edition as 'a reprint brought factually up to date, with some expansion, and with a measure of general revision of those portions of the text which are affected by recent research'. In the map series the author has been able to draw once more on the skill and experience of Miss L. F. Chitty: there is a new enlarged map of Wales in the late Bronze Age; three new text maps; and among the new plates, which are now placed together at the end of the volume, are distribution maps of Neolithic A and B pottery, of flat and hammer-flanged axes, cast-flanged axes, cordoned urns, and socketed axes of Breton and Yorkshire types. Other features not present in the first edition are illustrations of type-objects of the Bronze Age and an index. Many of the text maps, too, have undergone revision: on fig. 7, for instance, the megaliths have entirely disappeared from Norway and are much reduced in France and Sweden; the double-looped palstaves (fig. 9) are much more fully mapped.

The text everywhere shows revision and careful adjustment to the findings of the last ten years. The weight of evidence has led to the abandonment of the suggestion that the Straits of Dover may have been non-existent at the end of the third millennium B.C., but nevertheless the difficulty of the sea-passage is regarded as having offered a serious obstacle to up-channel movement in early times. If we can detect any change of tone in the stimulating and at times brilliant narrative, it is, perhaps, a little less exuberant, a shade more tentative: the 'conclusions' have become 'propositions' and are expanded from twenty to twenty-five; but they are none the less secure, and many of them have already passed into common archaeological currency. The author confesses that 'the phenomena were in many cases more complex than seemed to him probable' in 1932. We are allowed to see a Personality increasingly shaped by man himself, to detect the infinite complexities of human societies who will not always react directly to the dictates of environment, to realize that cultural inheritance and cultural overlap may lead to unsuspected blossomings of civilization in unlikely places. It is at

once the weakness and the fascination of archaeological studies that there are always gaps in the evidence: to have detected the major controls in the changing life of prehistoric Britain is a great achievement, and the author's main thesis has stood the test of time. Fellows of the Society do not need to be reminded that much of the primary research on which Sir Cyril's conclusions are based is, though modestly concealed, the result of his own outstanding work. While the references to other students are full and generous, the reviewer, as a geographer, would like to have seen mention made of Sir Halford Mackinder's *Britain and the British Seas*, where the physical and cultural contrasts between upland and lowland Britain were suggestively outlined nearly forty years ago. Finally there remains the Epilogue, unchanged save for a word or two in the last paragraph, a memorable word-picture, painted with scientific imagination, of Britain at the dawn of the Iron Age.

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Periodical Literature

Antiquity, no. 65, March 1943:—The earliest Buddhist shrines, by Stuart Piggott; The grey wolf, by Colin Matheson; Rotary querns on the Continent and in the Mediterranean Basin, by V. Gordon Childe; The sailing ship in ancient Egypt, by J. Hornell; The Classics in war-time, by J. M. C. Toynbee; The efficiency of the flint sickle, by E. C. Curwen; The Boat of the Dead, by L. V. Grinsell; Ogboni staves from Ife, Nigeria, by E. L. R. Meyerowitz; Ancient mining, by E. M. P. Evans.

No. 66, June 1943:—Field-names, by F. T. Wainwright; Multiple ramparts, by Colin A. Gresham; The Crane Dance in East and West, by Edward A. Armstrong; The origins of the alphabet, by David Diringer; Did Hengist settle in Kent? by E. G. M. Fletcher; Avebury; Egyptian bronze-making, by G. A. Wainwright; The Tariq El-Gemel at Gerba, Tunisia, by G. A. Wainwright.

Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, vol. 22, no. 85:—Jean Baptiste, cymbal player of the Scots Fusilier Guards, 1832, by Rev. P. Sumner; Foreign Regiments in the British Army, 1793–1802. Pt. II: The Continent, by C. T. Atkinson; The garrison of Scotland, 1719, by K. C. Corsar; Notes on the development of signals used for military purposes, by C. ffoulkes; Major-General Sir Henry Somerset, 1794–1862, by Major G. Tylden; An officer of the 1st Dragoon Guards, 1813, by Rev. P. Sumner.

Vol. 22, no. 86:—A picquet of the 8th Hussars, 1856, by Rev. P. Sumner; Foreign regiments in the British Army, 1793–1802. Pt. III: Quiberon, by C. T. Atkinson; Uniforms of the Foot Guards, 1768–74, by Rev. P. Sumner; An officer, Royal Horse Guards, circa 1775, by Rev. P. Sumner; Agincourt and Valmont: contrast in the tactics of French and English during Henry V's invasions of France, by W. B. Kerr; Battle of Deig, 13th November, 1804, by Brig.-Gen. H. Biddulph.

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Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries

Anniversary Meeting: Thursday, 15th April 1943. Mr. A. W. Clapham, President, in the Chair.

Mr. Philip Corder and Mr. W. F. Grimes were appointed Scrutators of the Ballot.

The following were admitted Fellows: Rev. J. L. Fisher, Miss K. Major, Brig. O. G. F. Hogg, Mr. S. Hodgson, Mr. F. G. Roe, Mr. L. A. Sheppard, Mr. R. L. Atkinson, Mr. E. W. Ganderton.

The following Report of the Council for the year 1942-3 was read:

Owing to the continuance of the war, there is even less to report than usual. Monthly meetings have been continued, and the attendance shows a marked increase, but no further activities have been undertaken.

Research.—A grant for excavations in the Isle of Man has been given and the sum of £125 has been expended in this connexion. No further grants from the Research Fund or the William and Jane Morris Fund have been made.

General.—The question of the position of archaeology after the war has been considered, and the Council formed a special sub-Committee to consider the matter. This Committee met on five occasions, and presented a unanimous report. This has been considered by the Council, which has decided to bring it before the societies affiliated to the Congress of Archaeological Societies, who will meet early in May for the purpose with representatives of other Societies concerned with excavation and research.

The Finance Committee has met and passed a resolution pointing out that they view with concern the rising liabilities in connexion with the Research Reports, and requesting that no future Research Committee Reports be put in hand without reference to the Finance Committee.

The Council has sent a letter to the Norwood Committee on Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools, stressing the importance of Archaeology in education and offering the Society's help in any matters on which the advice of archaeologists be required.

The Council has appointed a sub-Committee to consider the possibility of future economies in the production of the Society's publications.

Library.—The following books, other than those sent for review, have been presented to the Library:—

From the Authors:—

Sidelights on Brasses in Hertfordshire Churches, XXI. Broxbourne Church, by H. C. Andrews, F.S.A.

Sheriffs of Northumberland: part i, by C. H. Hunter Blair, F.S.A.

The Gold Collar of SS and the Trial of the Pyx, by Sir George Bonner.

Ancient mining processes, as illustrated by a Japanese scroll, by C. N. Bromehead.

The early history of water-supply, by C. N. Bromehead.

Bronze Age Chronology: a criticism, by G. E. L. Carter.

A medieval jug and its contents, by G. C. Dunning, F.S.A.

English Sculpture in some Berkshire churches, by Mrs. Arundell Esdaile.

The Gorges Monument in Salisbury Cathedral, by Mrs. Arundell Esdaile.

Šamuhā and Malatia, by John Garstang, F.S.A.

Varieties of circumstantial evidence in the study of medieval enameling, by W. L. Hildburgh, F.S.A.

Scottish micro-burins, by A. D. Lacaille, F.S.A.

- The Old House, by Malcolm Letts, F.S.A.
- The first engraved atlas of the World, by Edward Lynam, F.S.A.
- On a new paleolithic industry from the Norfolk Coast, by J. Reid Moir.
- The study of prehistoric times, by H. J. E. Peake, F.S.A.
- French archaeological excavations in Syria between the wars, by Com. C. A. F. Schaeffer, Hon. F.S.A.
- Royal and Ancient, by H. F. Scott Stokes, F.S.A.
- The ancient trade route past Hatra and its Roman posts, by Sir Aurel Stein.
- Poland and Germany: past and future, by Dr. Tadeusz Sulimirski.
- Les énigmes de l'art du Moyen Âge, by G. de Tervarent.
- Locally found coins in Letchworth Museum, by G. Askew and W. P. Westell.
- From the Australian War Memorial, Canberra:
- A. D. Trendall: The Shellal Mosaic and other classical antiquities in the Australian War Memorial, Canberra.
- From H. Clifford Smith, F.S.A.:
- Catalogue of the celebrated collection of knives, forks and spoons of Mrs. E. G. Ridpath.
- The Statistic of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George.
- From the Drapers' Company:
- History of the Company's Properties and Trusts.
- From Miss Francis (from the library of the late A. G. Francis, F.S.A.):
- Donald Atkinson: The Romano-British site on Lowbury Hill in Berkshire.
- J. R. Mortimer: Forty years' researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds in East Yorkshire.
- M. E. Cunnington: The Early Iron Age inhabited site at All Cannings Cross Farm, Wiltshire.
- A. Bulleid and H. St. George Gray: The Glastonbury Lake Village.
- James Curle: A Roman Frontier Post and its people.
- H. E. Balch: Wookey Hole: its caves and cave-dwellers.
- Lt.-Gen. Pitt Rivers: Excavations at Cranborne Chase.
- From C. Hilary Jenkinson, F.S.A.:
- S. M.: 'Black Letter'.
- From Brig.-Gen. Fane Lambarde, F.S.A.:
- Baronagium Angliae, 1597.
- From L. A. Mayer, F.S.A.:
- Annual Bibliography of Islamic Art and Archaeology, Vol. III (1937).
- From Rev. W. Oliver, F.S.A.:
- The Rokeby Brief Book.
- From Dr. Felix Oswald, F.S.A.:
- T. Davies Pryce: Roman decorated red-glazed ware of the late first century B.C. and the early first century A.D.
- From the Instituto de Antropologia da Universidade do Pôrto:
- J. Monteiro Aguiar and J. R. Santos Jr.: O menhir de Luzim.
- A. Mendes Corréa: Novas estações líticas em Muge.
- A. Mendes Corréa: Contribuição portuguesa para o estudo da pre-história geral.
- A. Mendes Corréa: Da prehistória à história portuguesa.
- A. Mendes Corréa: Os estudos de Antropologia na Academia Politécnica do Pôrto.
- Carlos Teixeira: Molde de fundições para machados de bronze de duplo anel.
- Carlos Teixeira: Notas arqueológicas sobre o castro de Lanhoso.
- J. R. dos Santos Júnior: Arte Rupestre.
- J. R. dos Santos Júnior: Gravuras Rupestres de Lomar.
- From Mr. A. E. Robinson:
- J. H. Dunbar: The Rock-pictures of Lower Nubia.
- From Miss J. Sherwin:
- Four manuscript volumes by the late G. A. Sherwin, F.S.A.:
- The Isle of Wight in the Bronze Age.
- The Isle of Wight in the Iron Age.
- The Isle of Wight in the Roman Period.
- The Isle of Wight in the Saxon Period.
- From Dr. Arthur Watson, F.S.A.:
- A. Katzenellenbogen: Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art.
- Dänische Sammlung: vorgeschichtliche Zeit.
- From Mr. E. E. V. Wright:
- Robert Henery: Letters from Paris, 1870-75.

H. Taine: Notes on England.
Sir J. A. R. Marriott: Oxford: its place in national history.
A don (Leslie Stephen): Sketches from Cambridge.

Obituary.—The following Fellows have died since the last Anniversary:—

Walter George Bell, 24th May 1942.

Bethel Godefroy Bouwens, M.A., 24th October 1942.

Robin George Collingwood, M.A., F.B.A., 9th January 1943.

Albert Crew, J.P., 25th July 1942.

Claude Basil Fry, 29th July 1942.

Brig.-Gen. Edmund Godfrey Godfrey-Faussett, C.B., C.M.G., 29th May 1942.

Thomas Frederick Hobson, M.A., 19th August 1942.

Lt.-Col. John Burgess Preston Karslake, M.A., 3rd September 1942.

William Henry Knowles, 18th January 1943.

Thomas Boys Lewis, M.A., 9th September 1942.

Rev. Henry Isham Longden, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., 28th April 1942.

Henry Robert Charles Martin, 23rd July 1942.

John Pierpont Morgan, 13th March 1943.

Arthur Percival Newton, C.B.E., M.A., D.Litt., B.Sc., 12th August 1942.

Sir Saxton William Armstrong Noble, Bart., 12th October 1942.

Frederick Gymer Parsons, D.Sc., F.R.C.S., 11th March 1943.

John Devitt Stringfellow Pendlebury, M.A., 1942.

Arthur Edwin Preston, J.P., 21st May 1942.

Roger Abbot Raven, M.A., 27th November 1942.

Arthur Ernest Relph, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 9th October 1942.

Major Richard Rigg, O.B.E., August 1942.

Gerald Ambrose Sherwin, 8th October 1942.

Frank Simpson, 14th October 1942.

Major Francis John Angus Skeet, 1943.

Rev. Horace Pitt Kennedy Skipton, 16th February 1943.

Col. Herbert Robert Henry Southam, 24th December 1943.

Henry Edward Stilgoe, C.B.E., 12th March 1943.

John George Taylor, B.A., Ph.D., 24th July 1942.

Sir Algernon Tudor Tudor-Craig, K.B.E., 10th April 1943.

Frederick Christian Wellstood, M.A., 7th August 1943.

WALTER GEORGE BELL, who was elected a Fellow in 1923, was a well-known historian of London. For many years he was on the editorial staff of the *Daily Telegraph*, acting for some time as Deputy Editor. He wrote several books on London, including volumes on The Great Fire and The Great Plague, while he also was responsible for a history of London Wall and of Fleet Street. He died in May 1942, aged 72.

BETHEL GODEFROY BOUWENS was elected in March 1941 and died in October 1942. He was very interested in the Society of Genealogists, of which he acted as Hon. Librarian when their regular librarian was recalled for active service. He therefore had little opportunity for doing any work for the Society.

ROBIN GEORGE COLLINGWOOD. An obituary notice appeared earlier in this volume (p. 84).

LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN BURGESS PRESTON KARSLAKE had been a Fellow since 1904 and had always shown himself very interested in the affairs of the Society.

He lived for many years at Silchester, where he assisted in many ways with the excavations, which considerably added to this interest. He was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Berkshire Yeomanry with whom he served in the last war. He was also a member of the Paddington Borough Council, having served as Mayor, a member for South Paddington of the L.C.C., of which body he was also Vice-Chairman, and a member, and Chairman for 1920-2, of the Metropolitan Water Board. He had served on the Council of the Society on several occasions, and died on 3rd September 1942.

WILLIAM HENRY KNOWLES, F.R.I.B.A., elected 2nd March 1899, was a well-known architect in Newcastle, where he had an extensive practice. On retiring he went to live at Malvern. His main archaeological work was his connexion with the excavation of Corbridge, where he helped for many seasons. He also wrote papers on the Roman Baths at Bath, and on Deerhurst Priory, Gloucestershire, both illustrated by his own plans and drawings. He had served on the Council, and might be sure to visit the Society during his not infrequent visits to London. He died on 18th January 1943.

HENRY ISHAM LONGDEN, who was elected a Fellow in 1931, died on 28th April 1942, at the age of 82. After graduation at Oxford, he became in 1897 rector of Heyford, Northants, where he spent the rest of his life. He gave much time to genealogical research and wrote more than fifty papers on the history of Northamptonshire families. His chief undertakings were the editing for the Harleian Society of the Heralds' Visitation of Northamptonshire in 1681 and his *Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy from 1500*.

He was an original member of the Northamptonshire Record Society, to whom he bequeathed his extensive MS. Collections.

HENRY ROBERT CHARLES MARTIN, Richmond Herald, was educated at Bedford and Lincoln College, Oxford, and played Badminton for England. He was called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1912, and was elected F.S.A. on 16th January 1930, having previously been appointed Rouge Croix Pursuivant in 1922 and Richmond Herald in 1928. He died suddenly of heart failure on 23rd July 1942.

PROFESSOR ARTHUR PERCIVAL NEWTON, who was elected a Fellow in 1919, was Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London. He varied his work here with several visits to various parts of the Empire and America, including India, but his main and important work was done in London, and it is for this that he is best known. He also edited a Calendar of State Papers and a volume of the Cambridge History of the Empire. Amongst his other distinctions was the Gold Medal of the Royal Empire Society; he was also a Vice-President of the Royal Historical Society, and a founder of the Institute of Historical Research. He was created C.B.E. He died on 12th August 1942.

PROFESSOR FREDERICK GYMER PARSONS was elected a Fellow in June 1921. He was trained at St. Thomas's Hospital, where he was for many years on the staff acting as lecturer and demonstrator. He was the author of a history of St. Thomas's in three volumes, which he completed in 1936, and had also contributed many articles to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and a book on the early inhabitants of London. He had also contributed a paper on a Saxon Cemetery at Luton to the *Antiquaries Journal*. He died on 21st March last.

ROGER ABBOT RAVEN was elected a Fellow in June 1930. He was a nephew of our old Fellow, Rev. J. J. Raven, Rector of Fressingfield, and inherited many of his uncle's tastes and proclivities. But his work was mainly confined to fields somewhat removed from the Society, and he never had the time or the opportunity to take any part in its activities. He, however, took a part in the work of the Monumental Brass Society, of which he was a Member of Council, and to whose *Transactions* he had contributed papers, as well as to the Oxford University Brass Rubbing Society. He died on the 27th November 1942.

GERALD AMBROSE SHERWIN was elected a Fellow in 1930. He was a Past President of the Isle of Wight Natural History and Archaeological Society, where he will be greatly missed. He had done much to increase the interest in the Carisbrooke Castle Museum, of which he had been Hon. Curator since 1938. In 1926 he helped to supervise the excavation of the Roman villa at Newport, I.O.W., and since his retirement he had made an archaeological survey of the Isle of Wight from the Bronze Age to the Saxon Period, the manuscript of which has been presented to the Society. He died on 8th October 1942 at the age of 65.

FREDERICK CHRISTIAN WELLSTOOD, who died on 7th August 1942, was educated at New College School and at Oxford University. In 1899 he joined the staff of the Bodleian, until, in 1910, he was appointed secretary and curator of Shakespeare's birthplace, a position which he was holding at the time of his death. He was also founder and general editor of the Dugdale Society and was a Local Secretary of the Society for Warwickshire. As Local Secretary he took an active part in the excavation of the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Bidford on Avon. Of this paper Mr. Wellstood executed the measured plans. He also carried out excavations at Tiddington, with the generous assistance of Mr. W. J. Fieldhouse. He was born in 1884.

JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN, the banker, was elected an Honorary Fellow in February 1930. He had large collections of works of art, books, and manuscripts, and had always shown himself very generous in his dealings with other bodies. For instance, the acquisition by the British Museum of the Bedford Book of Hours and the Luttrell Psalter were in large measure due to his influence, and many other books and manuscripts were similarly given. He was an Honorary LL.D. of Cambridge, where his son was a member of Christ's, and also an Honorary D.C.L. of Oxford. He died on 13th March last.

SIR ALGERNON TUDOR TUDOR-CRAIG was born in January 1873. He wrote several books of archaeological interest, including one on Armorial Pottery of the eighteenth century, whilst he was the owner of collections. He subsequently became interested in the United Grand Lodge and in 1938 published three volumes of the Catalogue of the Library. He was appointed K.B.E. in 1919 and was also a Knight of Justice of St. John. He was elected Fellow in January 1914 and died on 10th April last.

The Scrutators having handed in their report, the following were declared elected Officers and Council for the ensuing year: Mr. A. W. Clapham, President; Mr. R. Holland-Martin, Treasurer; Brig. R. E. M. Wheeler, Director; Mr. T. D. Kendrick, Secretary; Mr. J. Allan, Dr. H. I. Bell, Mr. H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, Mr. G. H. Chettle, Mr. L. Edwards, Mr. G. Eland, Miss R. Graham,

Mr. W. F. Grimes, Mr. C. H. Jenkinson, Mr. A. D. Lacaille, Mr. H. S. London, Mr. E. C. Rouse, Miss G. Scott Thomson.

The President then delivered the Anniversary Address at the close of which Mr. C. T. Flower, Vice-President, proposed the following resolution which was carried unanimously:—

'That the best thanks of the meeting be given to the President for his Address, and that he be requested to allow it to be printed.'

The President signified his assent.

Thursday, 27th May 1943, at 2.30 p.m. Mr. T. D. Kendrick, Secretary, in the Chair.

The following were admitted Fellows:—Miss J. M. C. Toynbee, Rev. G. Henniker-Gotley, Mr. W. G. Keith, Mr. J. S. Lindsay.

Mr. C. K. Croft Andrew, F.S.A., read a paper on barrow digging in Cornwall.

The Ordinary Meetings of the Society were then adjourned until Thursday, 28th October 1943.

Obituary Notice

MRS. ARTHUR STRONG. Born 25th March 1860; died 16th September 1943.

If proof be needed that Rome is essentially far less a modern national capital than she is the heart and centre of the civilized and cultured world, we find it brilliantly set forth in the career and work of Mrs. Arthur Strong (*née Eugénie Sellers*), who died in that city on 16th September 1943. An Englishwoman, educated at Girton College, Cambridge, one of the most distinguished of British archaeologists and art-historians of our day and of the Fellows of this Society, Mrs. Strong was also a Roman in the deepest sense of the term. She lived continuously in Rome from 1909 until her death (true to her character, she would not forsake the city when Italy entered the war), first as Assistant Director of the British School at Rome and from 1925 onwards in her own flat in the Via Balbo. Throughout these years her rooms were both the scene of unremitting study and of an uninterrupted output of published work and an intellectual and social centre for scholars, students, and distinguished persons of all types and of all nationalities. Her kindness, enthusiasm, and charm pervaded these cosmopolitan gatherings, at which the youngest tiro, just embarking upon archaeological or historical work, was no less welcome than the most learned veteran. The conversation, carried on in four or five different European languages, in itself served to convey to the new-comer Rome's international role. Mrs. Strong took unbounded pains to assist the work of students: many (the present writer among them) owed their *entrée* to some of the city's collections entirely to her influence and support.

Every true classical archaeologist is both Hellenist and Romanist, and Mrs. Strong was no exception. After leaving Cambridge she gave lectures and demonstrations on Greek art and archaeology at the British Museum, and later studied under Dörpfeld in Greece and Furtwängler in Germany. The bulk of her earliest publications dealt with Greek subjects, the most notable of these being her English edition of Furtwängler's *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik* (1895). Yet her commentary on *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (with a translation by Miss K. Jex-Blake), published in 1896, formed a link between Greece and Rome, while a series of reviews of books on Roman subjects (1895–9), and a public lecture on Roman art delivered in London in 1896, the year before her marriage, revealed her growing interest in 'Romanità'. But the year 1900, in which her translation, with preface, of F. Wickhoff's *Roman Art* appeared, may be said to mark a turning-point in her career. For of all her many services to archaeology the most important and the most distinctive was her revelation of the art of the Roman Empire as a subject compelling attention on its own merits and for its own sake, whereby she demolished for ever the notion of it as a mere appendix, or even anti-climax, to the art of classical and Hellenistic Greece. It is of comparatively little moment whether we trace the secret of this imperial art to some native Italic quality which consciously, as it were, resisted, and maintained itself against, the tide of Hellenic influence sweeping down upon it; or to Rome's genius for synthesis, to her power to use and absorb everything which she found, and, in appropriating it to the service of the imperial idea, to turn it all into something new. What matters is that, thanks to Mrs. Strong, Rome's artistic achievement has now won universal recognition, not only as the culminating phase in the long and brilliant history of antique art, but also as a link of the utmost significance between the classical and Christian worlds.

Mrs. Strong never lost her interest in things Hellenic and had a wide knowledge of Byzantine history and art; but from 1900 onwards publications on Roman subjects followed one another with ever-increasing rapidity. Only the most important of them can be mentioned here—*Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* (1907), of which an enlarged and revised edition in Italian appeared in 1923–6, while a new study in English was in preparation; contributions to the *Catalogue of Ancient Sculptures in the Municipal Collections of Rome*, by members of the British School at Rome (1912 and 1926); *Art in Ancient Rome from the Earliest Times to Justinian* ('Ars Una' series, 1929, in English, French, and Italian); and two chapters entitled 'The Art of the Roman Republic' and 'The Art of the Augustan Age' contributed to volumes ix (1932) and x (1934) respectively of *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Mrs. Strong's periodic reports in *The Times Literary Supplement* on recent archaeological discoveries in Italy were eagerly awaited and still more eagerly read. Nor is it without interest that of her numerous contributions to *The Journal of Roman Studies* the first and the last—'The Exhibition illustrative of the Provinces of the Roman Empire at the Baths of Diocletian, Rome' (vol. i, 1911) and 'Romanità throughout the Ages' (a study of the 'Mostra Augustea della Romanità', held in Rome in 1937–8, vol. xxix, 1939)—should both have stressed Rome's unique position as the source from which art and culture flowed through central and western Europe and the Mediterranean lands. For, while centred in the capital, Mrs. Strong travelled extensively in Rome's former provinces and at one time projected a general survey of Roman provincial art. *Apotheosis and After-Life*, published in 1915 and based on lectures delivered on the Norton foundation of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1913, is, in many respects, the most impressive of all her works, as marking a significant stage in the author's own spiritual development. For it reveals that sensitiveness to the symbolic and religious atmosphere pervading imperial art which made her so attractive an interpreter of the underground basilica of the Porta Maggiore in particular and coloured so much, in general, of her later work.

Mrs. Strong's activities were by no means confined to the classical field. As librarian to the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth from 1904 to 1909 she had interested herself especially in drawings of the Old Masters; and from 1918 onwards she devoted considerable time to the study of baroque architecture and art. Her excellent monograph *La Chiesa Nuova* (S. Maria in Vallicella) appeared in 1923. In 1924 she contributed a paper on 'The Popes and the Arts' to a Cambridge volume of essays on the Papacy, and in 1926 a paper on 'S. Francis in Rome' to *S. Francis of Assisi: Essays in Commemoration*. The manuscript of her monumental work on the Vatican is believed to have been completed by the time of her death. So, too, she entered fully into the life of modern Rome. She represented the University of Cambridge at the opening of the University City of Rome in 1935. She was a frequent contributor to the Roman press and to Roman archaeological journals. In 1938 she was presented by the Governor of Rome with the Gold Medal of the City. Instinctively disposed to welcome and embrace new ideas, she followed with keen interest, not unmixed with shrewd criticism, the political and cultural developments of recent times.

To hear Mrs. Strong talk or lecture on Roman subjects, or to visit the treasures of Rome and the neighbourhood in her company, was to be inspired for ever with devotion to the Eternal City. She was, in a true sense, an apostle of the continuity, the vitality, the indispensability of Rome.

JOCELYN M. C. TOYNBEE.

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